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A SHORT
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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With Maps and Plans

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PREFACE

THE aim of this History of England is to give a short narrative of the growth of the British Empire and Constitution from the earliest times to the present day, in such a form and within such limits as shall supply the wants of middle and upper forms at schools, candidates for university and civil service examinations, and for the army and navy, pupil and assistant teachers at elementary schools, and students in training colleges, and also shall give a clear and intelligible account of those events and institutions a knowledge of which is so much needed by the student of modern political life.

To attain all these ends within the space of 450 pages has been a most difficult task, and a rigid censorship has been needed, both in choosing the subjects and events to be mentioned, and in allotting an appropriate space to each. In deciding what subjects to admit, I have had with great regret to omit all references to the manners and customs of the people, except where they have borne directly upon political events; on the other hand, greater space has been given to the working of economic causes than has been usual in a book of this size.

Again, I have omitted all reference to literature except where strictly connected with history, partly because I am led to think that the mere facts boys learn on this subject are of little use, and also because the teaching of literature is happily being made a separate department from the teaching of history. In allotting space, I have been guided by the following considerations. If any event, such as the death of Charles I., or the crusade of Richard I., is certain to have been pathetically or graphically described in the first history put into a child's hands, whatever that may be, I have contented myself with a mere statement of fact; if an event, and especially a constitutional event, was likely to be new to my readers, I have spared no pains to make it intelligible and vivid. Everywhere I have been guided by what I have learnt, as a practical teacher, of the difficulties which most readers find hardest to surmount, and I have tried to bear in mind that the object of teaching history is not to cram with facts and dates (useful, and indeed necessary, as these are), but to awaken thought, and especially to teach the habit of thinking intelligently about the political events of our own and other countries.

The history is divided into nine books, according to dynasties, and each chapter contains, as a rule, the reign of one king. At the beginning of each book are placed genealogies of the royal families, and pedigrees to illustrate special points are given in the notes. At the head of each reign is a list of the notable characters to whom attention is to be directed. Numerous maps and plans are given, with tables of

the chief events, and a complete analysis is provided by the table of contents.

The style aims at being simple, but not childish. In spelling, I have in the earlier part of the work followed that given by Dr. Stubbs in his "English Constitutional History." With him I have rejected the use of such forms as Ælfred for Alfred, and Eadward for Edward, believing that no good is gained by such accuracy comparable to the injury done by accentuating in a boy's mind the idea that our ancestors were not men like ourselves. In other cases I have followed the modern spelling, and have called men and places by the names by which they have been familiar to many generations of Englishmen.

In dealing with the later history I have not attempted to do more than give such connecting links as shall enable the reader to carry on the thread of the narrative to the time when his own memory begins to serve him, carefully keeping clear of party questions by confining myself to simple statements of facts, and throughout I have taken pains not to use expressions which would be likely to wound the feelings of any religious body, or of any of the peoples who are now united with Englishmen in a single kingdom.

The Skeleton History of England,* published in 1882, by Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland and myself, may be used as a companion to this book, and teachers will

* "A Skeleton Outline of the History of England," being an abridgment of "A Handbook in Outline of the Political History of England." By A. H. Dyke Acland, M.P., and Cyril Ransome, M.A. 1s. 6d.

find in the larger handbook * summaries of many matters which will be useful for oral instruction. Excluding the tables and maps, the period B.C. 55 to 1837 is comprised in about 400 pages, which will make the work, if used as a text-book, lend itself best to a two years' course, but a private student or a form which can give more than one hour a week will have no difficulty in mastering its contents in a much shorter time

In conclusion, I can only add that I am as conscious as any one can be of the many shortcomings of the book. I have done my best to get rid of mistakes, with the aid of friends who have been so good as to help me, among whom I should specially mention Bishop Stubbs, who was good enough to examine a specially difficult constitutional passage; Professor Creighton; Mr. George Nutt, of Rugby; Rev. A. B. Beaven, of Preston; and Mr. H. Richardson, of Marlborough—to all of whom I owe a great debt of thanks. Some errors, however, are likely to survive the most careful revision, and it will be a great kindness in those who use the book if they will supply me with lists of such as they may find.

C. R.

LEEDS, *April*, 1887.

* "A Handbook in Outline of the Political History of England." Chronologically arranged. By A. H. Dyke Acland, M.P., and Cyril Ransome, M.A. 6*s*.

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BOOK I

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST


ENGLAND
AND
SOUTHERN SCOTLAND
to illustrate History
from
55 B.C. to 1154 A.D.
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Hills thus
Agricola's Wall
Glasgow
Edinburgh
LOTHIAN
BERNICIA
LINDISFARNE
STRATHCLYDE
Roman Wall
Newcastle
Durham
Carlisle
DEIRA
Whitby
North Allerton
Boroughbridge
York
Stamford bridge
NORTH SEA
ISLE OF MAN
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
ANGLESEA
Manchester
Doncaster
Hatfield
Lincoln
THE WASH
Carnarvon
Chester
Stafford
Derby
Nottingham
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Stamford
Uriconium
Lichfield
Leicester
Norwich
EAST ANGLIA
Ely
MERCIA
Offa's Dyke
Bedford
Colchester
Harwich
ESSEX
Maldon
Assington
Pembroke
Caerleon on Usk
Berkhamstead
Oxford
Hertford
Chippenham
Wallingford
London
SHEPPEY I.
I. OF THANET
Dyrham
Ashdown
Reading
Rochester
Canterbury
Bristol
Bath
WESSEX
North Downs
KENT
Dover
Edington
Winchester
SUSSEX
Athelney
Salisbury
South Downs
Senlac
Hastings
Pevensey
Portsmouth
Southampton Water
Exeter
I. OF WIGHT
Fosse Way
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ALDERNEY
GUERNSEY
SARK
CHANNEL ISLANDS
JERSEY
FRANCE
NORMANDY
Tyne
Tees
Aire
Humber
Don
Trent
Dee
Severn
Wye
Avon
Watling Street

I.—KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF EGBERT, 802–1066.

Egbert, 802–839.

Ethelwulf, 839–858.

Ethelbald, 858–860. **Ethelbert,** 860–866. **Ethelred I.,** 866-871. **Alfred,** 871–901.

Ethelwald. **Edward the Elder,** 901–925.

Athelstan, 925–940. **Edmund I.,** 940–946. **Edred,** 946–955.

Edwy, 955–959. **Edgar,** 959–975.

Edward the Martyr, 975–979. **Ethelred the Unready,** 979–1016. = (1) Elgiva; (2) Emma of Normandy.

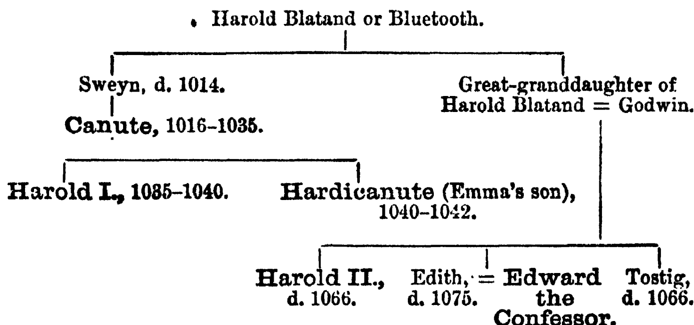
(1) **Edmund Ironside,** 1016. (2) **Edward the Confessor,** 1042–1066.

Edmund, d. 1050. Edward, d. 1057.

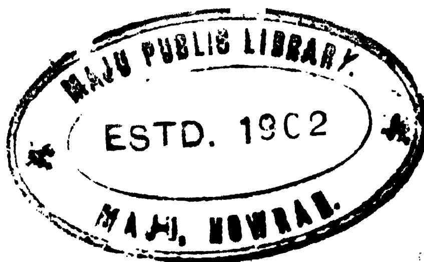
Edgar Atheling, d. 1120. Margaret, d. 1093 = Malcolm Canmore, d. 1096.

Matilda, d. 1118 = **Henry I.,** d. 1135.

II.—THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.



Reigning sovereigns in large type.
(2) signifies by second wife or husband.



CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

MEN of pure English blood belong to the Low German group of the Teutonic branch of the Aryan family of nations. Few or none of us, however, are of pure descent, and some of the best qualities of modern Englishmen are due to the mixture of the English blood with that of other races. The mixed English race of to-day is also descended from the primitive inhabitants of these islands, from the Celts or ancient Britons, from the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, from the Northmen or Danes, from the Normans, and from French and Flemish settlers, who have at one time or another settled in these islands.

The English race.

Except the primitive inhabitants, all these races are members of one family, the Aryan, which is thought by some to have dwelt originally in Central Asia, by others along the shores of the Baltic Sea. To it belong the Hindoos, now with us subjects of the Queen, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, besides most of the nations of modern Europe.

The Aryan family.

The first Aryans who are known to have settled in Europe were the Celts, the Greeks, and the Italians, who, driving out before them or conquering the primitive inhabitants, exactly as the English have done in modern times in America and Australia, made homes for themselves in Greece, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and the British Isles. After them came the Teutons. One branch of these, the Germans, occupied the plain of Central Europe, the greater part of which is still known by their name; another, the Goths, settled for the most part along the Danube; and a third, the Scandinavians, occupied Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The last branch, of any size, to appear in Europe were the Slavs,

Early migrations of the Aryans.

whom we find living in Russia and Poland, and in many of the lands by the Danube, where they took the place of the Goths.

Meanwhile the former inhabitants of Europe, who were not Aryans but Turanians, had either been absorbed in the ranks of their Aryan conquerors, or been forced to take refuge in out-of-the-way places where the Aryans did not care to follow them; and a few of their descendants, whom we can recognize by their language, may be found there at the present day, such as the Basques of the Pyrenees, and possibly the Lapps of the north of Europe. At a much later time, two more Turanian races came from Asia and settled in Europe, driving out or conquering the Aryan inhabitants. These are the Hungarians, who call themselves Magyars, and the Ottoman Turks, who still hold Constantinople; but this happened in comparatively modern times.

Primitive inhabitants of Europe.

Later Turanian settlers.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the Aryans were in possession of almost the whole of Europe, but even at the present day their migrations have not ceased; for since the discovery of America and Australia thousands of Aryans—English, Dutch, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and French—have left Europe and settled in those countries. Aryans, also, have dispossessed Negroes, Arabs, and Chinese in various parts of Africa and Asia; indeed, not a year passes without the Aryan race making itself master of some district hitherto held by one of the other races of mankind.

Later migrations of the Aryans.

These migrations took hundreds of years—it is impossible to say how long—but the Aryans of Southern Europe had become settled and civilized, while those of the north were savage and barbarous. Thus the Greeks and Romans were cultivated and learned nations, and had produced some of the master-pieces of literature and art, while the Britons and Germans were little better than savages.

Early Aryan civilization.

The first civilized man who is recorded to have visited our islands was Pytheas, who in the fourth century before Christ was sent by the merchants of the Greek colony of Marseilles to try and open up a trade with the people of the north. He sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar to Britain, and after visiting Kent, he again set sail to the east and made his way to the mouth

Pytheas' voyage.

of the Vistula. Thence he returned to Jutland, and after coasting along the shores of Norway as far as the Arctic circle, returned to Britain. He then sailed to Gaul, and returned to Marseilles by land. The result of his discoveries was the opening up of trade between Marseilles and Britain.

After a time Marseilles fell into the hands of the Romans, who, after defeating the Carthaginians, made themselves masters of the whole coast of the Mediterranean. Their general, Julius Cæsar, after conquering the Gauls, determined to explore the island of Britain, which he knew to be inhabited by a kindred race, from whom the Gauls of the continent had received assistance in the struggle with the Roman armies. With this view he made two expeditions in the years 55 and 54 B.C., but finding that the warlike inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, he made no serious attempt to conquer the island, and contented himself with making a treaty with the inhabitants, of whom he gives us a valuable account.

Cæsar's invasions.

A glance at the map shows that Britain is divided by nature into two well-marked portions. The north and west are rugged and mountainous; the south and east undulating and fertile. Again, in consequence of the position of the hills, most of the rain falls in the north and west; the south and east are comparatively dry. In the north and west the rivers are for the most part short and rapid; in the south and east they are long, deep, and navigable. The result is that the east and south are districts which are fertile and easily cultivated, while those in the north and west are, for the most part, best suited for pasturage or mining. It is only within the last hundred and fifty years, since coal has been used instead of wood for the purpose of smelting iron and also for driving machinery, that the coal and iron of the north and west has been turned to much account, so that during by far the greater part of our history the south and east have been rich, the north and west poor.

Physical geography of Britain.

These circumstances have had the greatest effect upon our history. The strongest race has always kept the fertile lands, while the weaker races have had to be content with the mountainous districts and poorer soils. The south, too, could most easily trade with Europe, and that increased the civilization of its inhabitants. Nowadays

Influence of the physical geography of the island on the history.

all this is changed. Manufactures and not agriculture are the chief sources of our wealth; our trade with America and the colonies is at least equal to our trade with Europe, and consequently the north and west have now attained a prosperity and importance which is the very reverse of their old condition. These facts must be borne in mind while reading the history of England, because we always want to know which districts are the most wealthy and the most civilized, as it is always those districts which are first seized by any powerful conqueror, and which have always the most weight in the politics of the country.

Races of Britain.

In Cæsar's time Great Britain and Ireland were inhabited by three races, of whom two were Aryans of the Celtic branch, and the third was Turanian. The names of the two first were the Goidels and the Brythons, from which we get the names Gael and Briton; the third are generally called the Ivernians, or Hibernians, which is the same word whose root we find in Erin and Erse.

Ivernians.

The Ivernians must at some time have occupied the whole of the islands, but long before this period they had been driven westward by the conquering Goidels, and it is doubtful whether they lived as a separate race anywhere except in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

Goidels.

The Goidels, who had driven the Ivernians from the east of the island, had in their turn been driven westward by the Brythons. Accordingly we find the Goidels occupying the east of Ireland, North and South Wales, Cornwall and Devonshire, the lake district between Morecambe Bay and the Solway Firth, Galloway, and possibly other districts in the west of Scotland. In these districts their language was spoken, but it is believed that both in blood and speech they had been much affected by the Ivernians with whom they had been driven to associate by the conquests of the Brythons.

Brythons.

The last comers, the Brythons, held all the best lands. In their hands was all modern England, except the Goidelic districts mentioned above; and they had made their way to the shores of Cardigan Bay, so that the Goidels of North and South Wales were divided from one another by the Brythonic territory of Powys. In modern Scotland they held all the lowlands except Galloway, and had even made their way north of the river

Tay. The rest of the country was divided between the Goidels of the west and the Ivernians of the north.

The Ivernians, Goidels, and Brythons represent three degrees of civilization, the Ivernians being the lowest. Cæsar found the Brythons of the south as civilized as their kinsmen of Gaul. He mentions that the Brythons grew large quantities of corn, but he names other tribes who sowed no corn, lived only upon flesh and milk, and were clothed in skins. Indeed, the word Brython, which means clothed, was used by that race to distinguish themselves from their more backward neighbours. The religion of the Brythons was the same as that of the Gauls and other Aryan races of the Continent, and consisted in a worship of many gods and of the powers of nature; but the Goidels had partly adopted from the Ivernians the religion of Druidism, and the Ivernians were wholly under its influence. Druidism as practised by the Ivernians was a most barbarous religion, but among the Goidels the Druids seem to have been a kind of soothsayers or magicians. In government the Brythons were in advance of their neighbours. Among them the great men of the tribe had much influence; but among the Goidels the kings appear to have had absolute power over their subjects. The Brythons had a system of coinage imitated from the merchants of the continent, and many of their coins have been found and preserved. All the three races were great warriors, and much fighting went on, not only among the races themselves, but among different tribes of the same race. Of these wars we have many remains in the shape of huge earthworks and camps. The people of the south-east were in Cæsar's time remarkable for the skill with which they managed their war-chariots. They were armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows, while they protected themselves with shields, and wore armour on their throats and right arms. Their weapons were made of bronze, for iron was as yet little used. Even the Brythons still tattooed themselves and painted their bodies for battle, and it is certain that the Goidels and Ivernians of the west and north were much ruder than those tribes with whom Cæsar was acquainted.

British civilization.

From 54 B.C. to A.D. 43 the Britons were unmolested by the Romans; but in that year Aulus Plautius, the general of the

Emperor Claudius, invaded the country, and, after a great deal of very severe fighting, the Romans succeeded in storming the principal British camps, and made themselves masters of the country. The chief battles were the storming of Camulodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, where Colchester now stands, and that against the Silures of South Wales, led by Caractacus, which was fought near the river Severn. From 47 to 78 the Romans were continually fighting against the British tribes, one of whose leaders was the celebrated Boadicea; but in 69 there arrived in Britain a Roman general and statesman named Julius Agricola, who completed the conquest of all that part of the island which was afterwards held by the Romans. Agricola was the father-in-law of the Roman historian Tacitus, from whose pen we get the best account of the conquest. His greatest triumph was the battle of Mons Graupius, won near the Tay. By the close of the year 81, Agricola had thoroughly subdued the country, and he had also set about the task of putting the Roman rule on a permanent footing.

Conquest of Britain by the Romans.

Agricola decided not to attempt to hold the country which lay north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth. He therefore built across the narrow piece of land which unites the lowlands and highlands of Scotland a series of fortified posts, which are sometimes called Agricola's Wall. The Romans then organized Britain according to their usual plan. They chose a number of places which were important either for military purposes or because they were useful for trade. At some they established permanent stations, at others colonies of settlers. They connected these by a network of roads, which enabled them to get their soldiers together to any place where they were wanted, and also gave great assistance to trade. The chief Roman towns were London, Colchester, Lincoln, York, Bath, Caerleon-upon-Usk, Uriconium, and Chester. The chief Roman roads connected these towns, but branches were made in every direction to places of smaller importance, and till the introduction of railways it may be said that the chief traffic of the country followed the Roman roads. The best-known Roman roads are the Watling Street, which ran from Dover by way of London to Chester; and the Fosseway, which ran from Cornwall to Lincoln,

Roman settlement of the country.

Towns and camps.

crossing the Watling Street near Rugby. Moreover, the Roman towns are still the sites of the greater part of our old English cities, and wherever we find the ending "chester," "cester," or "caster," we have evidence of a Roman camp. Manchester is Roman, while the names of Liverpool and Birmingham serve to show that great cities have sprung up on those sites for reasons which were not in action in Roman times.

Roman civilization. Besides building towns and making roads, the Romans also taught the Britons civilization. As everywhere else in their dominions, they introduced the Roman law, Roman games, and, after they had been converted, Christianity. It was Roman enterprise which felled forests, reclaimed fens, and improved the soil, till Britain became the greatest corn-growing country of the west. Iron, lead, and tin mines were worked, pottery and bricks were manufactured. Beautiful villas, with every luxury of Roman life, were built along the roads and in the neighbourhood of large towns, and though large parts of the island were still barbarous, the country as a whole was fairly orderly and civilized.

Defences of the Roman empire. The civilized lands which were under the Romans were always looked upon with greedy eyes by the barbarous tribes who lived across the frontier, and even at their strongest the Romans had to maintain great garrisons of soldiers along the border in order to keep out the barbarians. These soldiers, some of whom were Romans and some hired, like our Indian Sepoys, from the inhabitants of the country, lived in camps along the frontier. Some of these camps can be traced at the present day in the great towns that lie on the Roman side of the Danube or the Rhine. In Britain we saw that Agricola established the frontier line between the Firths of Clyde and Forth; but in 121 the Emperor Hadrian decided to give up a large tract of barren country, and made a line between the mouths of the Tyne and the Eden his frontier. This line was fortified at various times, till its defences were composed of a rampart to the north, an earthwork to the south, and a series of fortified stations for the garrison between the two, so that the soldiers were prepared for an attack from the north or for a rising in the south. The whole of these fortifications are generally known as the Roman wall.

The Roman wall.

End of the Roman rule in Britain.

For a long time the Romans were strong enough to defend the frontier of their whole empire; but by degrees they became weak, and then the Teutons and Celts who were over the border made their way into the Roman territories. When this happened, the Romans were obliged to give up trying to defend the outlying parts of their dominions; and in the year 410, after withdrawing their legions from Britain, they released the Britons from their allegiance.

State of Britain on the departure of the Romans.

At that time there were in Britain three classes of inhabitants: (1) The Romanized Britons, who had been taught and defended by the Romans. These occupied the fertile districts and river valleys. (2) Those Britons who, though subject to the Romans, had still kept their own language and customs, and who lived in Wales and the mountainous parts of the island. (3) The unconquered Britons who lived north of the Roman wall. They are generally called the Picts and Scots. The name Pict, or painted, was given by the Romans to all the tribes who lived across the frontier, and included Brythons, Goidels, and Ivernians alike. The name Scot, which also means painted or tattooed, was the name given to the Goidels from Ireland, who had begun to attack the north-west coast of Britain before the Romans left.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN.

WHEN the Roman soldiers were gone, the Romanized Britons did their best to maintain their independence; but they were unaccustomed to fighting, and had much ado to repel their countrymen from the hills, and the Picts and Scots from beyond the wall.

The English invasion.

These, however, were not their only enemies, for they were soon attacked by the English; and in the course of two hundred years the new-comers wrested from the Romanized Britons all the fertile parts of the island. Only one writer. Gildas, was living when the conquest was taking place, and he tells us very little, so that we are obliged to rely upon historians who lived long after the events which they profess to relate. By them we are told that the Britons called in the English to help them against the Picts and Scots, that the English turned upon their employers, and, assisted by thousands of their countrymen, conquered large districts in Britain. The dates of these conquests are given. The kingdom of Kent is said to have been founded in 449, Sussex in 477, Wessex in 495, and Northumbria in 547. As a matter of fact, however, it is impossible to give any detailed account of the conquest. These writers tell us mainly about the south coast; they give hardly anything about Northumbria, and nothing at all about the conquest of the great midland kingdom of Mercia.

Facts of the invasion.

The researches of modern historians have, however, done much to clear up the matter, and the main features of the invasions are now well known. The English, under which name are included three tribes, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, were a Low German race who lived in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Elbe. They were much given to plunder

and piracy, and in Roman times were known, under the name of Saxons, as the scourge of the North Sea and the British Channel. When Britain was left defenceless, they required no invitation to land and attack the inhabitants. Wherever there was a convenient port, thither they steered their ships, and, if they could master the inhabitants, began a settlement, just as their descendants did hundreds of years afterwards on the coast of North America.

The English settlements.

These settlements were dotted all along the British coast from the Firth of Forth to the Southampton Water, and each became a little kingdom. Between the mouths of the Forth and Tyne we find the Bernicians; between the Tyne and the Humber the Deirans; then the Lindiswaras between the Humber and the Wash; then the East Anglians between the Wash and Harwich; and the East Saxons, who were bounded on the south by the Thames. Crossing that river, we come in turn to the Kentishmen, the South Saxons, a small group of Jutes near Southampton Water, and finally to the land of the West Saxons, or Wessex.

Method of the conquest.

These tribes spread inland, and conquered the country from the Britons, but how far they killed off the old inhabitants, drove them away, or reduced them to slavery, it is not easy to say. It is certain, however, that at first, when the English were heathen, they simply pushed aside or slaughtered the Britons and took their place; but it is thought that, as they penetrated further into the country, few Britons survived where the fighting was severe, but many where large tracts were conquered by a single battle. The Britons who survived would be those in the large towns, and the agricultural labourers, who would naturally be preserved as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and for the purpose of cultivating the fields, which they could do much better than their English conquerors. Two things make it very hard to tell how many Britons survived.

Evidence of language, religion, and names.

First, the Britons who came under the rule of the English completely gave up their own language and adopted that of their conquerors, just as the Gauls, when conquered by Cæsar, learned to speak Latin. Secondly, in the eastern parts of the island we have no traces of Christianity, though it survived in the west and in Wales. If we examine the names of places, we shall find that, with the exception of Roman names of towns and British names

of rivers, we have hardly a single British or Roman name in the low-lying districts of the east and south; while directly we come to hilly country, British names are again found, such as Pen-y-ghent and Helvellyn. The language spoken in all low-lying districts is English, but we know that it is not long since Celtic was spoken in Cornwall, that it is still spoken in Wales, and large traces of Celtic can be found in the dialects of hilly districts.

Chief battles of the conquest. The chief part of the conquest took place between the years 410 and 600, by which date the English had made themselves masters of all the fertile country in the south and east, and the Britons only held possession of the mountainous and barren tracts of the west and north. They did not do this without hard fighting, and the struggle had the effect of uniting the Goidels and Brythons south of the wall, who began to call themselves by the name of Kymry, or comrades. Two battles, however, stand out plainly, and must be remembered. In the year 577 the West Saxons defeated the Britons at the battle of Dyrham, near Bath. The result of this victory was to separate the Britons of Cornwall from those of Wales. In the year 607, or 613, the Anglians of Northumbria defeated the Britons at the battle of Chester, and so cut off the Britons of Wales from those of Strathclyde, the hilly district which stretches from Morecambe Bay to the Firth of Clyde. The English, after this, began to call the men of Cornwall West Welsh, and those who lived between the Bristol Channel and the Dee, North Welsh. The word Welsh means foreigner.

Early English kingdoms. The early settlements of the English seem to have been quite independent of one another; but no sooner had they gained a firm footing, than the stronger kingdoms began to attack and conquer the weaker. In this way Bernicia and Deira became united into Northumbria, with York as capital; Norfolk and Suffolk into East Anglia; the midland settlements from the fens to the Welsh border, and from the Humber to Watling Street, formed the kingdom of Mercia; while all the shires that lay between Watling Street and the south coast, except Kent and Sussex, fell under the power of the kings of Wessex, whose capital was Winchester. The period when Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Wessex were the principal kingdoms is sometimes known as that of the seven kingdoms, or the Heptarchy.

In such a small country as England one or other of these kingdoms was sure to get the mastery over the others, but it was a good many years before all the land came under one king.

Conversion of the English to Christianity.

Long before this happened England was won back to Christianity. The English were heathens. They worshipped the powers of nature, such as Thor, the god of thunder; but they had a special reverence for Woden, the leader of the German race, whom the chiefs looked upon as their ancestor. They had many superstitions, but apparently no very strong religious beliefs. Such a people were sure to take kindly to Christianity, if it were presented to them in an attractive form.

Teutonic settlements in Roman empire.

While the English had been conquering Roman Britain, other Teutonic races had been making themselves masters of portions of the Roman empire. The great difference between the English settlement in Britain, and the conquests of the Goths and the Franks, was this. The English kept their own religion and language, and exterminated Christianity and the Celtic and Roman speeches; while the Goths and Franks did all they could to become Roman: they learnt to speak the Latin tongue, they followed Roman customs, and adopted Christianity. While this was going on, the power of the Bishop of Rome, afterwards called the pope, was growing fast. His ecclesiastical dominions coincide with the old boundaries of the Roman empire in the west. England, however, was still heathen, while the Christians of Wales, Strathclyde, and Ireland were cut off from his rule; so it was natural that he should wish to convert the English.

Their conversion to Christianity.

Gregory's mission.

So little had been heard about Britain in the Roman empire, since it had been abandoned in 410, that one writer tells us that Britain was the abode of the souls of the dead, who were ferried across the Channel from the shores of France; and it is said that Gregory the Great, the pope who had the honour of sending the first missionaries to the English, was only reminded of its actual existence by noticing some Northumbrian captives exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome. However this may be, Gregory determined on their conversion; and as he could not go himself, he sent Augustine, a monk, with a number of clergy, to England.

The time was favourable to his plan. Ethelbert, the King of the Kentishmen, had married the daughter of the King of Paris. Kent, owing to having been settled more than one hundred years, was a well-organized kingdom, and its civilization had been improved by trade with the Continent. Encouraged by these circumstances, Augustine and his clergy paid a visit to the royal court at Canterbury. There they were graciously received by Ethelbert, who himself accepted Christianity, and gave his people leave to do the same. The Kentishmen adopted the new faith. Augustine was ordained Archbishop of the English Church; churches were built on new sites, or on the ruins of the old British churches, and two missionary bishops were consecrated for Essex and West Kent, whose sees were to be respectively London and Rochester. So the south-eastern corner of England was again restored to Christendom in the year 597. Augustine also tried to get the Welsh Christians to acknowledge his authority, but failed.

Conversion of Kent.

No other English kingdom received Christianity for thirty years; but after the death of Augustine, when Justus was Archbishop of Canterbury, advantage was taken of the marriage of Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, with Edwin, King of Northumbria, to send with her a missionary, Paullinus. By his preaching Edwin and his nobles were converted and baptized. Paullinus also converted Lincolnshire, then called Lindsey. Mercia, Wessex, Sussex, and all the smaller kingdoms, were as yet pagan.

Conversion of Northumbria.

While these events were in progress, the struggle between the kingdoms for the supremacy was still going on. Kent took the lead, under Ethelbert the Christian; but its power was very short-lived, and the earliest king to get anything like a real supremacy was Edwin, King of Northumberland. This northern kingdom was very strong. It was not so civilized as Kent, but it was much larger. It first came to the front when its king, Ethelfrith, defeated the Welsh in the battle of Chester; but Edwin, when he had beaten the West Saxons, was stronger still, and possibly his marriage with Ethelburga was a sign of his superiority over Kent. The great rival of Northumbria was Mercia. Penda, its heathen king, allied with the Christian Welsh, and overthrew and slew Edwin at the battle of Hatfield,

Struggle for supremacy.

near Doncaster, in 633. This defeat threw Northumbria into confusion, and its Christianity perished; but in a short time Oswald, Ethelfrith's son, became King of Northumbria, and united all Edwin's dominions under his rule.

Preaching of the Celtic missionaries.

Hitherto we have heard only of Roman missionaries to the English, but we now hear of Celtic clergy as well. After Christianity had been destroyed by the English in the east of the island, it still flourished among the Celts and made fresh converts. St. David, a member of the ruling family among the Brythons of Mid-Wales, converted the Goidels of the south, while St. Patrick preached to the Goidels of Ireland. About the year 500, a body of Scots from Ireland established a new kingdom in Argyle (the Gael land), which they took from the Ivernians. From this kingdom Christianity spread among the Goidels of Scotland, and their missionaries preached to the Ivernians of the north. Among the Celtic Christians monasteries were numerous, and at one of these, situated on Iona, an island off the west coast of Scotland, Oswald took refuge, when driven from Northumbria by Edwin, and on his return he sent for missionaries from Iona. St. Aidan was sent to him, and founded the monastery of Lindisfarne off the coast of Northumbria, and thence he made missionary journeys among the Northumbrians. His arrival took place in 634. Oswald, however, was defeated and slain by Penda in the battle of Maserfield, near Oswestry (long spelt Oswald's tree), in Shropshire in 642; but his successor, Oswy, also a Christian, surprised and defeated Penda at the battle of Winwidfield[1] in 655.

Further conversions.

After this success the Celtic missionaries pushed on in all directions. Chad converted Mercia, and fixed the bishop's seat at Lichfield. While the north was being won by the Celts, southern England was won by Roman preachers. Birinus, an Italian, converted the West Saxons; Felix, a Burgundian, drove paganism from East Anglia. Sussex for some time longer remained heathen. Thus Mercia and Northumbria were allied in faith with the Welsh; the rest of England was allied in the faith with the nations of the Continent.

There were slight differences between the two faiths. The

[1] Site unknown.

Welsh had a different way of cutting the tonsure, or shaving part of their priests' heads, and they kept Easter on a different day from that on which it was celebrated by the Church of Rome. These do not seem great matters in themselves, but they really involved a great deal. If England adopted the Celtic method, she would cut herself off from the great body of Christendom, and this isolation would prevent her from sharing in all the treasures of culture, learning, and civilization which had been left by the Romans, and were now being preserved by the Roman clergy. If, on the other hand, she adopted the Roman practice, she would keep all these advantages, and secure for herself a share in any advances which were made by Christendom at large.

Rivalry between the Celtic and Roman forms of Christianity.

The question was settled at the Synod of Whitby, 664. It was dealt with in a very practical way. The Northumbrian king asked Colman, the representative of the Celts, whether he admitted that the pope was the successor of St. Peter. On his answering "Yes," the king then asked if he admitted that St. Peter held the keys of heaven. "Yes," was the answer. "Then," said the king, "I will never offend the Saint who is the doorkeeper of heaven." England in this way threw in her lot with the Church of Rome; but the Celts of Ireland and Wales remained apart for many years afterwards.

Synod of Whitby.

Four years afterwards the English Church was thoroughly set in order by Theodore, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, who was sent by the pope to be Archbishop of Canterbury. He organized the English Church under the two archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, and this acceptance by the English of one form of Christianity was a step in the direction of their union as one nation.

Organization of the Church by Theodore.

Since the battle of Chester, Northumbria, in spite of some reverses of fortune, had kept its position as the leading kingdom. It had been famous, not only for arms, but also for learning. During its supremacy lived the venerable Bede, who wrote a history of the English Church, which is the earliest history of our race written by an Englishman; Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, a saintly and a learned man; and Caedmon the poet, who wrote a paraphrase of part of the Bible. In the year 685,

Northumbrian supremacy.

Egfrith, King of Northumbria, was defeated and killed by the Picts in the disastrous battle of Nectan's Mere, near the Tay, and with him ended the supremacy of Northumbria.

Mercia then came to the front. This great kingdom, which originally included all the lands of middle England, was increased by the capture of the West Saxon settlements in the Severn Valley. The most celebrated of the Mercian kings are Penda, Wulfhere, Ethelbald, and Offa; and of these Offa was by far the greatest. He ruled his own kingdom with a strong hand, and set up kings whom he could trust in the smaller kingdoms. As Kent had the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and Northumbria that of York, Offa determined to have an archbishop at his capital too, and for a short time Lichfield was raised to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see. Offa made war on the Welsh, and took from them Shrewsbury and its district of Powysland. To protect these conquests, he made an earthwork from Chester to Chepstow, which is still called Offa's Dyke. In his time, Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex completely overshadowed the smaller kingdoms, which had lost all prospect of gaining the supremacy.

Supremacy of Mercia.

Offa.

The power of Mercia depended upon the strength of its king, and when Offa died, the struggle for supremacy began again. His death happened in 796, and in the year 802 Egbert, who had lived in exile at the court of Charles the Great in Germany, was made King of Wessex. Egbert was bent on making Wessex the leading kingdom. His aim naturally brought about war with Mercia, and in 825, at the battle of Ellandun,[1] the Mercians were defeated with great slaughter. At once the smaller kingdoms, which had been under the sway of Mercia, passed under the rule of Wessex. In 826 Kent, Sussex, Essex and East Anglia submitted. The next year, 827, Mercia was conquered, and the Northumbrians received Egbert as their overlord. Egbert was now king over his own kingdom of Wessex, and overlord of the whole English-speaking race from the Channel to the Firth of Forth.

Rise of Wessex. Egbert.

[1] Site unknown.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNMENT OF THE ENGLISH.

We have brought the English to England, seen them converted to Christianity, and united under one king; we must now inquire how they were governed.

How the English were governed.

We saw that in all probability the English kingdoms were formed gradually by the union of a number of small settlements, just as the kingdom of England was formed, in its turn, by the union of the smaller kingdoms themselves.

The reeve.

The larger kingdoms, such as Wessex and Mercia, were divided into shires; the smaller, such as Essex and Sussex, also became shires after they lost their own kings and were made part of one of the larger kingdoms. Each shire was divided into smaller districts called hundreds, which were larger or smaller in different parts of England. Each hundred contained a number of townships. The officer of the township was the town-reeve. He called the grown men of the township to meet in the town-moot; there they settled matters which concerned the township. If the town was defended by a mound, it was called a burgh, a borough, or bury, which are only different ways of spelling the same word, which means *defence*. The head officer of a borough was called a borough-reeve. If the town was a place of trade he was not unfrequently called a port-reeve. The men of the township had to keep in repair the bridges and fortifications which the township contained, and, if need were, they had to fight.

The hundred-man.

The hundred was presided over by the hundred-man, or hundred-elder. Its meeting was the hundred-moot, and this dealt with the business of the hundred. The head

of the shire was the ealdorman, elderman, or alderman, who was placed over it by the king and wise men of the whole kingdom. Beside him, in Christian times, was the bishop; and the king was represented by the shire-reeve, or, as we now call him, sheriff. The meeting of the men of the shire was called the shire-moot. There they settled all quarrels. If a man was accused of theft or murder, he had to get his relations to swear that he was innocent. If they did not do this, he was put to the ordeal; *i.e.* he had to plunge his hand into boiling water, carry a bar of red-hot iron, or walk over red-hot ploughshares, and if he was not healed in the course of a fixed time, he was held guilty and punished. Punishment usually consisted of a fine paid to the sufferers, or to the family of the slaughtered man, and an extra fine was paid to the king.

The ealdorman.

The bishop.

The sheriff.

The shire-moot.

When war was to be made, or the country was invaded, word was sent to the ealdormen, each of whom sent notice to the hundred-men of his shire to meet at an appointed place. Each hundred-man called on the town-reeves of his hundred. They assembled the men of each township. Every man between sixteen and sixty had to come; they ranged themselves in families, and marched, under the command of the reeve and the parish priest, to the meeting-place of the hundred. There they met the men of other townships, and, forming one body, they marched under the hundred-man to the meeting-place of the shire, where the whole force of the shire was united under the lead of the ealdorman and the bishop; and then marched against the enemy, or joined the men of other shires, as the case might be. The whole force collected in this way was called the Fyrd. In this way the shire managed its own affairs, its own justice, and was able to fight its own battles.

The army of the shire, commonly called the Fyrd.

A group of shires made the kingdom. This was governed by the king and his witena-gemot, which means "meeting of the wise men." Every man could not come to the witena-gemot. It was made up of the king and the members of his family, the ealdormen, the archbishops and bishops, and the king's thegns. The king's thegns were originally the king's servants. The bishops and ealdormen also

The kingdom and witena-gemot.

had thegns. But, among the English, it was thought an honour to be the servant of a great man, so the king's thegns were really nobles. Even in the large kingdoms the witena-gemot was quite a small body; but it is very important, because the Parliament of our own day is the representative of the old witena-gemot, as we shall see by-and-by.

The powers of the witena-gemot.

The witena-gemot elected the king; but it very rarely chose a man who was not a member of the royal family. The late king's eldest son was usually chosen, but if he was young, foolish, or very wicked, they preferred the late king's brother. If the king turned out badly, they often deposed him, and set up another in his stead. Besides this, the archbishops, bishops, and ealdormen were named by the king in the witena-gêmot. Questions of peace and war were discussed by the wise men; they settled disputes among the great men. In fact, they helped the king to govern.

Powers of the king.

The king, on the other hand, had great power. As the supposed descendant of Woden, he was looked upon with awe. His family were royal. The whole kingdom looked up to him as its representative. In war he led the army. The nobles were the king's thegns. He had palaces and estates. The power of the king varied with the size of his kingdom, for the King of Northumbria was naturally a much greater man than the King of Sussex, and as England became more and more united, the power of the kings steadily grew.

The folkland.

In each English shire there was a quantity of land which belonged to the settlement, but had not been given to any one man. This was called folkland. The king and the wise men used to make grants of this land, and the pieces thus granted were called bocland, because they were given to their owners by book or title-deed. By-and-by the kings began to give out this land without consulting the wise men, and this helped them to increase their power, because men looked to them for reward.

Shire and kingdom contrasted.

Thus we see that each shire was strong and well organized; but the kingdoms were weak, because the shires, many of which had been originally hostile settlements, had little sympathy with each other. This made it very hard to make England into a strong kingdom.

CHAPTER IV.

INVASIONS OF THE NORTHMEN.

Egbert.

We saw that Egbert, like Offa and Edwin, had in 827 made himself leading king, and had even succeeded in getting his supremacy acknowledged by the whole English-speaking race. It is probable, however, that his kingdom would have broken up like those of his predecessors had it not been for the attacks of the Northmen.

The Northmen.

We shall see how this was. The Danes, or Northmen, were Aryans like the English, but belonged to the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race. They lived in what are now called Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; but in the eighth century they were not united into nations, but lived in small tribes, just as the English had done before their settlement in Britain. These Northmen, as the English had been, were pirates, and they also were on the look-out for fertile lands in which they might settle. They were barbarian and heathen, as the English had been before Augustine's time. Their language was very like English. From the year 787 in the time of Offa till the time of William the Conqueror, the English were constantly fighting with the Northmen. The invasions of the Northmen may be divided under three heads. First, they came to plunder; second, to settle; and third, to conquer and rule England.

First period of northern invasion.

The invasions of the Danes began in the year 787. A number of their ships would sail up one of the navigable rivers, such as the Trent or the Yorkshire Ouse, as far as they could. Then they brought their ships to land, and left them under a guard, while the main body harried the country, and, in case they were attacked, retreated to their ships.

If they found the people of one district prepared, they sailed away to some other district and attacked that. The English had given up being sailors, and could do very little against these pirates; so from 787 to 855 we continually hear of these plundering expeditions of the Northmen, who sacked the country, and burnt the monasteries, where goods were naturally sent for safety. Sometimes the Northmen allied with the Welsh, and in 836 Egbert won a great battle over an allied army of Northmen and Welsh, at Hengist's Down, on the Cornish side of the Tamar.

In 839 Egbert died, and was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf. In his days the Northmen, in 855, for the first time wintered in the Isle of Sheppey. This begins a new period in the Danish invasions, for they now tried to settle in the country.

Ethelwulf, 839–858.

Ethelwulf died in 858, and was succeeded in turn by his sons Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. In their days the Northmen continued their invasions. For the most part they attacked Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, and, so long as they confined themselves to the under-kingdoms, they did not meet with very serious resistance; but in the year 871, when Ethelred was king, the heathen men, as the chroniclers call them, passed into Wessex. There they met with a strenuous resistance. In that year, 871, six great battles were fought. Of these the best-known is Ashdown, near Reading, in which the English were victorious; but in four out of the six the Northmen had the better, and after the battle of Wilton, which the Northmen won, the English were glad to make terms.

Second period of Northern invasion. Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I., 858–871.

During the fighting Ethelred died, and was succeeded by his younger brother Alfred, the last of the sons of Ethelwulf. For the next seven years Alfred had much ado to defend Wessex from the Northmen, and meanwhile they swept over the under-kingdoms, and in 876 and 877 they divided Northumbria and Mercia among themselves. In the year 878 another great army of Northmen, under Guthrum, attacked Alfred, and forced him to retreat to the Isle of Athelney, among the marshes of the Parret in Somersetshire. There he was safe from pursuit; and the same year, 878, he issued from his retreat,

Alfred.

and surprised and defeated the Danes at the great battle of Ethandun, now called Edington. This victory drove the Northmen from Wessex, and the next year a treaty was made at Chippenham (sometimes called the treaty of Wedmore), and Guthrum became a Christian in 879. In 885 a second treaty was made, and it was agreed that the boundary of Alfred's kingdom on the north should run along the estuary of the river Thames, then along the river Lea to its source, then to Bedford, then by the river Ouse till it crosses Watling Street, and along Watling Street to the Welsh border. This will be clearer if we may say, roughly, that all England which lies to the south of the London and North-Western Railway from London to Chester belonged to Alfred, the rest to the Northmen. Immediately after this treaty was made, the Northmen secured East Anglia and portioned it out, as they had done Mercia and Northumbria.

Treaty of Chippenham.

It is not easy for us to realize what this settlement of the Northmen was like. We do not know for certain what proportion they bore to the English populations among whom they settled. Traces of them can be noted in three ways. Wherever we find names ending in "by," "thorpe," or "thwaite," as Grimsby, Grimsthorpe, and Nibthwaite, there we know that there was either a new settlement of Northmen, or that an old township was allotted to some Northern leader. In the northern dialect, again, we find a very large number of Norse words and modes of speech. It is also known that for a long time the laws and customs of the district settled by the Northmen were somewhat different from those in the rest of the island; hence the district north of Watling Street was often called the Dane-law. The Northmen soon became Christians, and mingled with the English among whom they lived, but for a long time they were independent of the West Saxon kings.

The settlement of the Northmen.

Traces of the Northmen.

The effect of the settlement of the Northmen on the West Saxon kingdom was twofold. First, it cut off from it the under-kingdoms which lay beyond Watling Street; secondly, it gave the West Saxons, as part of their own kingdom, that part of Mercia which lay between Watling Street and the Thames. Thus it reduced the size of their dominions, but to some extent made them stronger in reality than heretofore.

Effects of the settlement of the Northmen.

Alfred was one of those great men who thoroughly understand what they can and what they cannot do, and it is one of the strong points in his character that he saw clearly that his business was not to waste his strength in trying to reconquer the Danes, but to make his own dominions as strong as possible.

Alfred's policy.

The first thing to be done was to prevent new incursions of Danes, so he organized a fleet which protected the coasts. He then put the English fyrd, or militia, into order, so as to defend his kingdom by land. To secure order and good government, Alfred and his wise men drew up a revised code of laws, and saw that the law courts did their duty. To improve the culture of his people, Alfred invited learned men from abroad, superintended their work, and himself helped to translate from Latin into English books of philosophy, travel, and history, for the improvement of his people. In his days the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was compiled from old traditions, and from his time a narrative of the events of each year was kept in various monasteries and added to the chronicle, so that since Alfred began to reign we have a history of English events written by men who were living at the time.

Formation of a fleet.

Code of laws.

All through his reign Alfred had often to fight hard against new bands of Northmen, but he was usually successful, and in his time the Northmen turned their attention to Normandy. The descendants of these settlers were the Normans, of whom we shall hear much more hereafter. The first settlement of the Northmen in France was made in 876, and Hrolf, or Rollo, became Duke of Normandy in 912.

Fresh incursions.

Normandy.

Alfred died 901, and was succeeded by his son Edward, commonly called Edward the Elder. On the election of Edward a difficulty arose, for the crown was claimed by Ethelwald, son of Ethelred I., who had been passed over as a boy in favour of Alfred. Edward the Elder was supported by the nation, and Ethelwald took refuge with the Northmen of Northumbria.

Edward the Elder.

Edward the Elder is noted as a warrior. He determined to reconquer the Dane-law, and was helped by his warlike sister Ethelfleda, the widow of the Ealdorman of Mercia. Edward's plan was this. He was a fortress-builder, and when he had taken a piece of territory he fortified some

Edward's plan for reconquering the Dane-law.

strong place in it, and then used that as a base of operations against the enemy. His sister adopted the same plan.

The five boroughs of the Danes.

The chief strength of the Danes lay in two districts. First the midlands, where they were strong in Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford on the Welland, and Derby, which were called the five Danish boroughs; and, secondly, in a group of small towns which lay north of London, of which Hertford and Bedford are the best known.

Conquest of the Dane-law.

In 907 Ethelfleda fortified Chester, and in 912 Edward retook London, which had been captured by the Danes, and the brother and sister then set about a regular attack on the Danish towns. Stafford, Derby, and Leicester fell to Ethelfleda; Hertford, Bedford, and Stamford to Edward. In 918 Ethelfleda died, and Mercia, south of Watling Street, was completely united to Wessex, and newly divided into shires which were called after the names of the chief town in each, as Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Warwickshire. Edward then pressed hard upon the Danes. In 921 Essex and East Anglia, and in 922 Nottingham, Lincoln, with the remainder of the district held by the five boroughs, submitted to him. Edward then advanced into Northumbria and fortified Manchester.

Adoption of Edward as overlord by the English and Celts.

The result of these conquests was to make Edward's name a terror to the Northmen, and to win him the character of a protector among the English and Welsh. In consequence, in 922 the North Welsh asked Edward to be their lord, and in 924 the Northumbrians, Scots, and Strathclyde Welsh chose him for father and lord.

Edward's position.

This submission made Edward far more powerful than any former English king. He was now actual ruler of all England as far as the Humber, and overlord of the Northumbrians, Welsh, and Scots.

Athelstan.

Edward died in 925, and was succeeded by his son Athelstan. In his reign the subject kingdoms made a great effort to throw off the English yoke. To help them they called in the aid of those Northmen who had settled in Ireland; but they were defeated by Athelstan in the decisive battle of Brunanburh,[1] 937, which completely secured the English supremacy.

[1] Site unknown, possibly Bromborough in Cheshire.

Athelstan was succeeded by his half-brother Edmund in 940. He conquered Strathclyde, which by his time comprised only the land which lay between the river Derwent in Cumberland and the Firth of Clyde, and was bounded inland by the Pennine range of hills and the Forest of Ettrick. It had been much harried by bands of Northmen, most of whom came from the district now called Norway. Edmund granted it to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he would fight for him as his fellow-worker by sea and land. He also destroyed the independence of the five Danish boroughs, and their territory, like the rest of Mercia, was divided into shires, Stamford alone not giving its name to a division.

Edmund.

Under Edmund first came into notice the Englishman who has the greatest reputation as a statesman of all those who lived before the Norman conquest. This was Dunstan, who was educated in the Abbey of Glastonbury. This monastery is situated in Somersetshire, and is believed to have been founded by the Christians of Roman Britain. There the British hero, Arthur, was said to have been buried, and there lingered what remained of the culture and learning which the British Christians retained. Thither came Irish pilgrims, and from them Dunstan as a lad learned the wisdom that made him famous. He rose to be abbot, and devoted himself to the service of his king and to the spread of religion and culture among the people.

Dunstan.

Edmund died in 946, and was succeeded by his brother Edred. He deposed the Danish King of Northumbria, and divided it into three divisions, one of which, north of the Tweed, often called Lothian, was given to the King of Scots to hold on the same terms as Strathclyde. The other two were given to Ealdormen, who were called in the north earls, which is the same name as the Danish "jarl." Edred died in 955, and Edwy, the elder son of Edmund, came to the throne.

Edred and Edwy.

Meanwhile Dunstan had been rising in importance, but in 956 he quarrelled with Edwy and was banished. Edwy, however, was unpopular, for his rule was weak, and his half-brother Edgar was in 957 chosen king by all the men who dwelt north of the Thames. He recalled Dunstan, and made him Bishop of London. In 959 Edgar became king of all England on the death

of Edwy, and the next year he made Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dunstan was a great supporter of the earnest clergy who were trying to reform the Church. The Celtic clergy, as we saw, were monks. Of late the monks had fallen into bad ways; but Dunstan and his friends did their best to make their lives better, and to win back for them the places from which they had been ousted by the secular clergy, as the parish priests were called. As the monks were more cultivated than the seculars, this policy was for the good of the people. The plan was resisted by some of the great lords of the south of England, but it was supported by the small landowners of the north. This policy much improved the condition of the Church.

Policy of Dunstan.

Edgar was by far the most powerful of the old English kings. In his days a new code of English law was drawn up, and the country was so well governed that men looked back to his rule as an ideal time which they wished to bring back. He gained the title of Edgar the Peaceable.

Edgar's code.

Edgar died in 975, and was succeeded by his son Edward, who was murdered in 979, while still a boy, by the contrivance of his stepmother; and his half-brother, Ethelred, was placed on the throne. This happened in the year 979, and Dunstan, who was now a very old man, died in 988.

A terrible time followed Dunstan's death. The Northmen renewed their invasions, and met with but a feeble resistance. Ethelred was a wretched king, and gained the title of "Unready," which means "without counsel." The Northmen already settled in England sympathized with the invaders; the old jealousy between the shires broke out, and for twenty years the country suffered miserably. The first of these invasions took place in 980. The Northmen had now settled down under three kings, those of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and it was the Danes and Norwegians who attacked England, Scotland, and Ireland, while the Swedes invaded Russia and the shores of the Baltic. In 991 the Danes won the battle of Maldon. Ethelred and his wise men could devise no better way of getting rid of them than of buying them off. To do this they levied a tax, called Danegeld. Of course, the Danes soon

Third period of northern invasion.

The Danegeld.

came back for more, and in 994 Sweyn, King of the Danes, and Anlaf, King of the Norwegians, attacked London. They were again bought off. Again their invasions were renewed, and larger sums of money were again paid to them in 1002, 1007, and 1011.

Alliance with the Normans.

Massacre of the Danes.

Ethelred then tried to play off one set of Northmen against another. To do this he married, in 1002, Emma, the daughter of Richard I., Duke of Normandy. This, however, failed to win him help, and the same year he arranged a massacre of all the Danes who had recently settled in England. The slaughter was carried out on St. Brice's Day. Among the slain was the sister of Sweyn, and he hurried to revenge her death. Town after town was sacked, and in 1013 Ethelred fled to Normandy, and Sweyn was acknowledged as king. The next year Sweyn died, and then the Danes chose Canute, Sweyn's son; and the English recalled Ethelred. For a time Ethelred was successful, and Canute left the country; but he came back next year, and forced Wessex to submit to him, and in the midst of his troubles, in 1016, Ethelred died.

Death of Ethelred.

Canute was helped very much by the treachery of Edric Streona, or the Grasper. This bad man rose by his abilities to be Alderman of Mercia; but he used his talents most selfishly, and betrayed first one side and then another. So clever was he, however, that he was always able to make the side he was on believe that he was going to be faithful.

Just before Ethelred's death Edric Streona had joined Canute, and he now helped to forward Canute's cause. The greater part of England chose Canute, but London held to Edmund, the son of Ethelred and his first wife. Edmund was a very different man from his father. He was a great warrior, and had won the name of "Ironside." He left London and collected armies in various places, specially in the west, as Alfred had done before him. Then he sallied forth and won three battles against the Danes. So great was his success that Edric Streona came over to his side. This was his ruin; for in the next battle, at Assandun, now Assington, in Essex, Edric, at the critical moment, went over to the Danes, and Edmund was defeated.

Edmund Ironside.

Edmund and Canute now agreed to divide the kingdom. Edmund was to have Wessex, Essex, and East Anglia; Canute was to rule over Mercia and Northumbria. This was settled in 1016; but the same year Edmund was murdered, and Edric Streona got the credit of the deed.

Partition of kingdom.

Canute began to reign in 1017. He was a great man, and he showed it by making the English respect him and trust him, just as if he had been an Englishman. Canute had a great scheme in his mind. He wished to create a northern empire, which was to include Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and England, just as Charles the Great in Germany had revived the Roman Empire of the west. He was already King of England and Denmark, and in 1028 he conquered Norway.

Canute.

Canute's policy.

In England he ruled well. He began his reign by dividing the country into four earldoms. Over East Anglia he put Thurkill; over Northumbria, Eric; Edric Streona remained Earl of Mercia; while Canute kept Wessex in his own hands. It was not long, however, before the traitor Edric was put to death, and then Leofwine became Earl of Mercia, and in a short time Godwin was made Earl of Wessex.

Canute's earldoms.

Canute married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, perhaps for love, possibly to keep on good terms with the Normans. One of Canute's notable acts was his pilgrimage to Rome. This occurred in 1027, and he did not return till 1029, so sure did he feel that England would be well governed during his absence. In 1031 Canute forced Malcolm, King of Scots, to recognize him as his overlord, and to do homage for his earldom of Lothian.

Marriage with Emma.

Pilgrimage to Rome.

Homage of the King of Scots.

During Canute's reign began the greatness of Godwin, Earl of Wessex. He was much trusted by Canute, and was left in charge of England when the king was away.

Godwin.

Canute died in 1035. At his death his great empire broke up. Sweyn obtained Norway, Hardicanute Denmark. England was for a moment divided. North of the Thames Harold was chosen king; south of it Hardicanute, the son of Emma, who was assisted by Emma and Godwin. In the end Harold was acknowledged throughout the country. His reign is only notable for one thing. Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred and Emma,

Harold I. and Hardicanute.

came from Normandy to England. Alfred was blinded and died of his wounds; Edward escaped. For this cruel deed the Normans hated the English, and held the family of Godwin responsible.

Harold was succeeded in 1040 by Hardicanute. He sent to Normandy for his half-brother Edward; and when he suddenly died, in 1042, the English went back to the old line, and chose Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma, as their king.

DATES OF CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Cæsar's invasions of Britain	B.C. 55 and 54
Roman occupation of Britain	A.D. 43–410
Kingdom of Kent said to have been founded	449
Arrival of Augustine	597
Preaching of Aidan	634
Synod of Whitby	664
First invasion of the Northmen	787
Egbert becomes King of the English	827
Treaty of Chippenham	879
Reconquest of the Dane-law	907–924
Strathclyde conquered and given to the King of Scots	*c.* 945
Lothian granted to King of Scots	*c.* 950
Establishment of Danish dynasty	1017
Restoration of the English line	1042

CHAPTER V.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

EDWARD was not a vigorous king; he had little authority, while the great earls grew more and more powerful, and their alliances and quarrels make up the chief part of the history of his reign. The most powerful families were those of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumbria. Edward married Edith, the daughter of Earl Godwin, which added to the consequence of that house. Godwin had many sons, of whom the most notable were Harold and Tostig.

Edward the Confessor.

Edward had been brought up in Normandy, and he was naturally fond of Norman life and manners. In those days the Normans were in many ways more refined than the English, and their clergy were better educated. Edward, therefore, was wishful to bring over to England what he could of Norman civilization. He spoke French himself, and soon filled his court with French-speaking Normans. Some of these he placed in high offices in Church and State. Robert of Jumièges, a Norman, became Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury. Foreign merchants crowded to London, and it seemed as if the power of the English was passing into Norman hands, and that English customs were to be changed for Norman. Doubtless there was much to be said for adopting the manners of the Normans where they were an improvement, but it was not to be expected that the English would like it. Accordingly there was much discontent, and Godwin and his sons set themselves at the head of the English party.

His fondness for Normans.

Matters came to a head in 1051. In that year Eustace of Boulogne, who was returning from a visit to his brother-in-law Edward, marched into Dover as though it were a conquered

town, and quartered his men on the inhabitants. The men of Dover resisted, and a fight followed, in which some of the strangers were slain. Edward called on Godwin, as Earl of Wessex, to punish the rioters. He refused, and Edward called on Leofric of Mercia and Siward of Northumbria to help him against Godwin. A meeting of the wise men was called, and Godwin and Harold were outlawed. Godwin went to Bruges in Flanders, Harold to Ireland, and Edith, the king's wife, was shut up in a monastery.

Banishment of the Godwins.

While Godwin and Harold were away, Edward received a visit from William, Duke of Normandy. Emma, Edward's mother, was William's great-aunt, but he himself had no blood-relationship with the English royal family. William found Normans around the king; he saw that Normans held great places in Church and State, he heard French spoken on every side, and, being an ambitious man, he conceived the idea of making himself King of England. For a Norman, there was nothing out of the common in this. At that very time one Norman was establishing himself as ruler of southern Italy; it was only ten years since a Northman had reigned in England; and there was no likelihood that he would meet with a very formidable resistance, now that Godwin and Harold had been removed. It is said that Edward made a promise of the crown to William. This he had no right to do, because the election was in the hands of the witena-gemot; but William returned home well satisfied.

Visit of William of Normandy.

In the next year, however, the scene was changed. Godwin and Harold came back, and the king was forced to make terms with them. Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and most of the Frenchmen were expelled, and Stigand, an Englishman, was made archbishop in his stead.

Return of Godwin and expulsion of the Normans.

The house of Godwin was now supreme. Godwin died in 1053, but his son Harold became Earl of Wessex; and in 1055, on the death of Siward, Tostig became Earl of Northumbria. Harold and Tostig made war against the Welsh, while Edward remained at home in his palace. The whole power of the kingdom seemed to be falling into their hands, when Tostig by his bad conduct made himself so unpopular that the Northumbrians expelled him, and made Morcar, a grandson of

Supremacy of the family of Godwin.

Leofric, their earl. His brother Edwin had become Earl of Mercia, so that the chief power in the kingdom was divided between Harold, Edwin, and Morcar. A year after the expulsion of Tostig, Edward died, in 1066. He was called the Confessor on account of his piety; but he was a very feeble king.

Election of a successor.

At the death of Edward it was very difficult to choose a successor. Of the direct English line, there was living the Atheling, or Prince Edgar, grandson of Edmund Ironside; but he was quite a boy at the time, and even when he became a man his character was weak. It was pretty certain that William of Normandy would try to seize the throne, so the English wise men determined to pass over Edgar, and make Harold, the son of Godwin, who had taken the lead against the Normans, king.

Harold II.

Accordingly, Harold became king in 1066; and his whole reign was made up of a struggle to keep the crown against William the Norman.

William's pretexts for invasion.

William had no difficulty in finding pretexts for attacking Harold. He had really no claim at all; but he declared that he was Edward's appointed heir, and on that plea demanded the crown. Against Edgar Atheling he could have said little or nothing, but it happened that he could make a very plausible case against Harold. Harold had once been wrecked on the coast of Normandy, and had been tricked by William into taking a particularly solemn oath to be his man, and also, it was said, not to stand in the way of William's claims to the crown. Again, Harold and his brothers had incurred the hostility of the Normans by their resistance to foreigners. The Normans, too, wished to take revenge for the murder of Alfred. The blessing of the Pope was obtained on the ground that Stigand had been wrongly consecrated on the expulsion of the Norman, Robert, and also had received his pallium, or archbishop's cloak, from a rival pope.

Each of these pleas was weak enough by itself, but when they were all bound together they made a most formidable bundle; and when they were presented to the Norman knights, who dreamt of dukedoms and earldoms in England, they were received as indisputable, while a crowd of foreign adventurers flocked to William's banner, to join in the spoliation of England.

On his side, Harold was not idle. He led the fyrd, or militia, to the south coast and fortified some of the important posts, while he himself, with his huscarls, or body-guard, any one of whom was said to be a match for two ordinary men, was ready to hurry to the point attacked.

Preparations of Harold.

Unfortunately, William was not Harold's only enemy. His brother Tostig was disgusted at not being put back into his earldom of Northumbria, and was now cruising about the coast ready to make an attack. While so doing he fell in with the ships of Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. This Harold was a typical Northman; he had served in the Norman guard of the Emperor of the East at Constantinople, and had been to Egypt and gained a great reputation by slaying a crocodile. He agreed to help Tostig, and they sailed up the Humber to attack York. Morcar and his brother Edwin, who had come to his assistance, were defeated at the battle of Fulford on September 20. Harold marched to help them, and attacked Tostig and the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge on the Yorkshire Derwent. Harold offered his brother a third of his kingdom, but Tostig refused to desert his allies, and the battle began. In the end the invaders were defeated, and Tostig and Harold Hardrada were both slain. The battle was fought September 25, and three days afterwards William of Normandy landed at Pevensey.

Invasion of Tostig and Harold Hardrada.

Harold's victory at Stamford Bridge.

Harold at once set off to meet him, and it was only fair that Edwin and Morcar should give their best aid; but, though Harold had married their sister, they refused to do so; and so Harold, taking with him his huscarls, was obliged to go by himself. On his way he raised the fyrd of Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, and led them, with the Londoners, against William.

Harold's march south.

Selfish treachery of Edwin and Morcar.

Between Pevensey and London are two ridges of downs, one near the coast, the other much nearer the Thames, and between them lay, in those days, the forest tract of the weald. Probably it would have been better for Harold to have fought William on that ridge which is the further inland, as William would then have had a long march through difficult country, while Harold would have been nearer to his friends.

The battle-ground.

However, he chose to fight on the ridge at Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, on October 14th, 1066. (See note, page 38.)

Harold formed his men English fashion, on the brow of the hill behind a stockade, which they defended chiefly with their great battle-axes, while William relied on his archers and mounted knights. The Normans were the more scientific soldiers, and when they found it impossible to break the English line, they, by William's orders, feigned flight. The English then broke their ranks, and the Normans, turning upon them, charged so fiercely that they prevented the English from reforming their line. Meanwhile the Norman archers shot fast upon the defending force, and, aiming their arrows into the air, made them drop on the heads of the English, who were using their shields to guard their bodies. By one of these arrows Harold was killed, and then the English force was thrown more than ever into disorder, and men fell fast, till at length the Normans were masters of the field. Several of Harold's brothers were among the slain, and the power of Wessex was utterly crushed.

Battle of Hastings.

From Hastings William marched to Dover, and secured it, so that he might have a safe line of retreat to Normandy. He then set out for London; but, instead of attacking it, he merely burnt some houses in Southwark, and then marched up the Thames to Wallingford, where he crossed the river, and took up a position at Berkhampstead, near the Watling Street. By this manœuvre he cut off London from the rest of the country, and made the position of the Londoners hopeless. The witena-gemot, therefore, which in the first excitement had elected Edgar Atheling[1] king, finding that William had outwitted them, gave way. The leaders, including Edgar himself, came over to William's camp; a new meeting of the witena-gemot elected William king, as their predecessors had chosen Sweyn and Canute, and a new epoch in English history began.

William's march on London.

Election of William as king.

On the whole, we cannot regret the result of Hastings. Just as great advantages had come to England from her union with the Church of Rome, so it was a great thing for the English to become an important member of the family

Results of Norman conquest.

[1] "Atheling" was the English word for a prince, or son of a king.

of European nations. The Normans brought with them the greatest political ability, and their clergy the highest culture then known in Europe; and though it was a hard thing for the English to be conquered, still their descendants have derived greater benefits from their defeat than they could possibly have done from their victory.

DATES OF CHIEF BATTLES BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Dyrham	**577**
Chester	**607 or 613**
Hatfield	**633**
Maserfield	**642**
Winwidfield	**655**
Ellandun	**825**
Hengist's Down	**836**
Ashdown	**871**
Ethandun	**878**
Brunanburh	**937**
Maldon	**991**
Assandun	**1016**
Stamford Bridge	**1066**

Note on Battle of Hastings.—It is now generally thought that there was no stockade, but that the English fought in their usual fashion, locking their shields in front of them, so that from a distance the army looked like a fortress.

BOOK II

THE NORMAN KINGS

FRANCE

to illustrate
English affairs in that Country
1066-1815

English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140

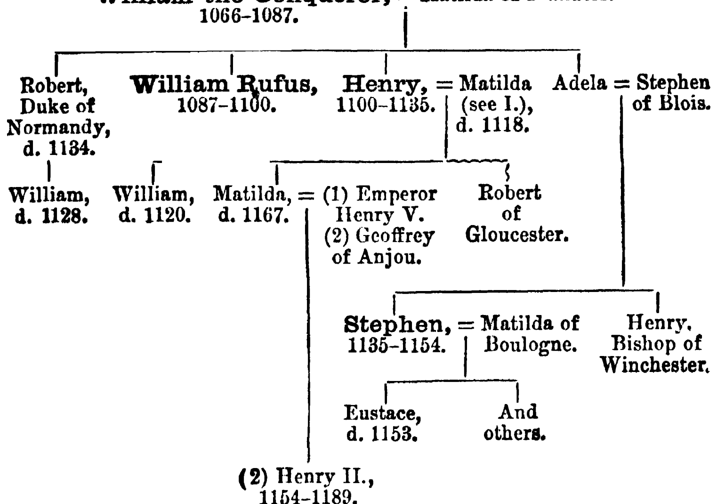
Boundary of the Dominions of Henry II.

Territory gained by Edward III. *at* Bretigny

Territories in possession of Henry V. & Henry VI.

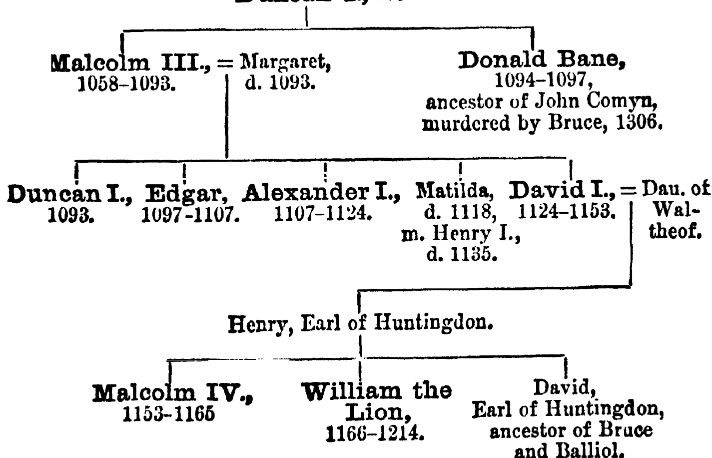
Walker & Boutall sc.

I.—THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND, 1066-1154.



signifies illegitimate.

IV.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1066-1214.



CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I., 1066–1087 (21 years).
Born 1027; married, 1053, Matilda of Flanders.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Odo of Bayeux, William Fitz-Osbern, Edgar Atheling, Edwin, Morcar, Stigand, Waltheof, Lanfranc, Ralf Guader, Roger of Breteuil, Robert of Bellême, Robert Mowbray.

WILLIAM the Conqueror was crowned at Westminster on Christmas Day, 1066. He had been duly elected by the witena-gemot, and looked upon himself, not as a conqueror, but as the rightful sovereign of the English. He was a man of great energy and ability. By his father's death he had been left Duke of Normandy when only eight years old, and he had had to fight hard to keep his place. When he grew up he became one of the strongest as well as one of the ablest men of his time, and made himself feared and respected by all his subjects.

William's youth.

In ruling England, William had to keep three things in view: (1) to secure his hold over the country; (2) to reward his Norman followers; (3) to keep the Norman nobles from becoming too powerful.

William's policy.

The battle of Hastings had only overthrown the power of Harold and weakened the men of the south-east; the men of the north and west had not yet fought with the Normans. From 1067 to 1071 rebellions were continually breaking out in different parts of the island. In 1067 the men of Kent and Hereford, taking advantage of a visit which William made to Normandy, rose in revolt against Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, whom William had left in command; but the revolts were unconnected, and William had taken to Normandy Edgar Atheling, Edwin, Morcar, and Stigand, the natural leaders of the English. The Normans soon crushed the English; but the next year risings took place in the west,

Revolts of the English.

Kent and Hereford.

helped by the sons of Harold, and in Northumbria, where Edgar Atheling, who had escaped from William's court to Scotland, gave his aid. Again the English were beaten; so in 1069 they called in the help of the Danes, and under Waltheof, the son of Siward, made another great effort in the north. The united armies of English and Danes captured York and massacred the garrison, and for a moment it seemed as if William's power was in serious danger; but he hurried to the spot, bought off the Danes, and defeated the English.

West and Northumbria. Invasion of the Danes.

To guard himself against similar attacks he ravaged the country from the Humber to the Tees. A glance at the map shows that this included the largest part of the fertile land of the north of England. The result was that the north of England, always less fertile than the south, was thoroughly thrown back, and never regained its position till the growth of manufactures in the eighteenth century. A last effort was made by the English in 1071. In this year, for the first time, Edwin and Morcar put themselves at the head of the rebels, but they were defeated. Edwin was killed by his own men; but Morcar for some time held out with Hereward in the Isle of Ely, which the fens then made almost impregnable. William attacked it both by water and land, and the English surrendered. After these disasters the English gave up the struggle, and William was able to carry out his policy.

Ravaging of the north.

Revolt of Edwin and Morcar.

He began by putting Normans into the chief places in Church and State. Edwin and Morcar had lost their earldoms, and William did not revive them. He thought that great earldoms like those of Mercia and Wessex were dangerous to the power of the king, and he had good reason for doing so. On the Continent, the dukes, who had originally been merely governors of districts such as Burgundy or Bavaria, just as the English earls were governors of Mercia and Wessex, had gradually made themselves hereditary rulers of these districts; they had granted land to their followers on military service, they had gained control over the law courts, and they were rapidly making themselves stronger than the kings. William was still Duke of Normandy, and he was determined to have no one in England with similar power.

Normans placed in chief posts. Abolition of the great earldoms.

Accordingly, in rewarding his followers with titles and lands, he followed a careful plan. He had plenty of land to dispose of, for the English rebellions had been followed by vast confiscations. This land he distributed to his followers; but in giving it to them, he took good care that no one should have too much land in one place. For instance, Robert of Mortain had seven hundred and ninety-three manors, but they were situated in twenty counties.

Careful distribution of property.

Only three exceptions were made. In Cheshire, Durham, and Kent, the earls were owners of the whole county, and the other landholders held their estates from them. These were called counties palatine. Cheshire was a safeguard against the Welsh, Durham against Scotland, Kent against the Continent; but Durham and Kent were given respectively to the Bishop of Durham and to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who, being churchmen, could not marry and found families, while Cheshire only was given to a layman, as it was thought that the Welsh would give the earl sufficient occupation to prevent him from thinking of treason.

Counties palatine.

To keep down the English, William built castles in all the large towns and at places of military importance; but he kept all these in his own hands, and gave them to men whom he could trust. It was not his policy to allow castles to be built which might be used against himself.

Castles.

In the Church William replaced the English prelates and abbots by Normans. Some were deposed and others died; but in each case a Norman filled the vacancy. In 1070 Stigand was deposed, and Lanfranc became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a learned and able man, and William found him a most useful adviser. These changes were good for the English Church. The Norman bishops, though some were statesmen and warriors rather than ecclesiastics, were more cultured than the English, and they brought the Church of England into closer union with Rome—a change which at that time was a good thing.

Normans in the Church.

In 1070 William made twelve men of each shire declare the laws of the English, as it was his intention to preserve these laws, and not to supersede them by Norman practices.

Declaration of the law by the English.

While he was making these changes, William steadily maintained

the rights of the old English kings. He invaded Scotland, and forced Malcolm, King of Scots, to "become his man" in 1072, and he refused to hold England as a fief of the Pope, as Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) demanded that he should in 1076.

Relation with Scotland.

William also took means to curb the power of the Pope and clergy. He ordered (1) that no Pope should be acknowledged in England, and that no letters should be received from a Pope without the king's consent; (2) that no canons should be made by the clergy, or (3) any of his ministers be excommunicated, without his express sanction.

Relations with the Pope and the clergy.

William's measures were not popular with his Norman followers. They expected that, when their duke became a king, they would naturally become dukes and earls, and when they found that William meant to curb their power, some went home in disgust and some rebelled. For one hundred years the barons continually tried to make themselves as strong as their fellows on the Continent. Against their efforts the king was usually helped by the clergy and the English, whose interest it was to curb the power of the turbulent barons. The towns had not been of much account before the Conquest; but when England became connected with the Continent, trade grew and they throve fast. In return for sums of money the kings granted them charters and privileges, and they soon became very important.

Commencement of the struggle between the king and the barons.

Growth of the towns.

The first rebellion of the barons took place in 1074. Ralf Guader, Earl of Norfolk, and Roger of Breteuil, Earl of Hereford, were the leaders, and they asked Waltheof, son of Siward, and Earl of Huntingdon, to join them. Their wish was to make one of themselves king, and the other two dukes. Waltheof seems to have refused; but he fell under William's suspicion, and was executed. The rebellion was crushed by Lanfranc, with the assistance of the English. The next rebellion occurred in 1078. Robert of Bellême (sometimes spelt Belesme) and Robert Mowbray were the leaders, and they obtained the help of William's eldest son, Robert. They were defeated.

Rebellions of the barons.

In 1085 the king ordered a complete survey of the whole kingdom to be made, so that he might know exactly how much land each man had, and what payments were due to the king. Commissioners

were sent to the shire-moots, where they learned from the great men the general divisions of the shire, then to the hundred-moot, and finally they called before them, from each township, the reeve, the parish priest, and six villeins, or men who held land under the lord of the township. From them they learnt the amount of arable, pasture, and wood land, to whom it belonged, what mills and fisheries there were, and other particulars; what had been the value of the township in the time of King Edward, and what it was now worth. The results of these inquiries were written out in a book, called Domesday Book. It gives us a picture of all England except Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Durham, some of which were waste and some in the hands of the Scots, and it is of incalculable value as a description of England at the time.

Domesday Book.

When the book was finished, William summoned all the English landholders to meet him at Salisbury. There he made each of them swear allegiance to him, whether he held from an intermediate lord or not. This had a great effect. Abroad, the Normans took an oath only to the Duke of Normandy, and if he rebelled against the King of France, they were only doing their duty in following him; but in England, if vassals followed their lord against the king, they were guilty of treason. Though this oath was not feudal, from the meeting of Salisbury it is convenient to date the establishment in England of what is called Feudalism.

Landholders' oath to the king.

By this is meant the system in which the king is regarded as the supreme owner of the land, and as letting it out to his tenants-in-chief or barons, who hold on condition of serving him in war, and of paying him certain dues. They, in their turn, let their land to sub-tenants, who hold it on the same terms, and so the whole of society is bound together by a system of land tenure.

Feudalism defined.

During the whole of his reign William was at enmity with the King of France. In 1073 he led an English army against the province of Maine, just south of Normandy, and captured it from the French king; and in 1087, stung by a joke of that monarch, he attacked Mantes, a town on the Seine. Here his horse plunged on some hot cinders, and William was so severely hurt that he died, 1087.

Wars with France.

Death and character of William.

William was a harsh ruler, but he did a great deal of good to England. We saw how the quarrels between the great earls weakened Harold at Hastings, and they would probably have become just as oppressive to their subjects as the French nobles did. William prevented this, and by making the crown powerful, and by relying on the English and the clergy against the barons, did a great deal to make England a united kingdom. His reign, however, was a terrible time; the king raised many taxes, and the barons oppressed the English. William and the barons were very fond of hunting. William kept all the folkland as forest, and added to it by making the New Forest in Hampshire a place for sport, for "he loved the tall deer as though he were their father." From this time the waste land of the kingdom which was not enclosed in any manor or township was called the forest. In this the barons might not hunt, and to preserve the game a law was made that he who slew a deer should be blinded.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II., 1087–1100 (13 years). Born about 1060.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Odo of Bayeux, Lanfranc, Robert of Bellême, Robert Mowbray, Ranulf Flambard, and Anselm.

WILLIAM the Conqueror left three sons, Robert, William, and Henry. Of these, Robert succeeded his father as Duke of Normandy; while William, who had been his father's favourite, crossed the Channel at once with a letter from the dead king to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate had been his tutor and had knighted him; but before Lanfranc declared in William's favour, he insisted upon the young prince taking an oath to rule well and to follow his advice. He then threw all his weight into the scale, and secured the election of William. This arrangement followed the idea of the time, that ancestral possessions should go to the eldest son, and acquired property to the second. Henry, the youngest, had to content himself for the present with five thousand pounds left by his father.

Election of William Rufus.

William II., who was called Rufus from his ruddy countenance, was a bad man but a vigorous king, because his instinct made him keep in check the great barons, and prevent them from building castles, from which they might plunder the country; and thus he secured peace for the cultivators of the soil and the traders of the towns. No doubt he levied very heavy taxes; but no taxation could ever be so bad as the irregular exactions of the barons; and so, though times were hard for all, the country was moving along the road marked out for it by the wisdom of William the Conqueror, and, as long as Lanfranc lived, the young king followed his advice, and adopted the old plan of playing off the English against the barons. He had need to do this, for the great nobles hated the Conqueror's system, and

Policy of Rufus.

they were always on the watch to gain an advantage over the king. Many of them would have preferred Robert for king, because, though brave, he was careless and easy-going, and would have given them more licence.

The leading barons were Odo of Bayeux, Roger Montgomery, and Robert Mowbray. Odo contrived a conspiracy against William in the first year of his reign, and fortified the castles of Rochester and Arundel; but William called on all the English to help him, and said that any one who did not come to his aid would be branded by the name of "nithing," which the English thought disgraceful. They flocked to his standard in crowds; both the castles were taken, and Odo was ignominiously expelled from the country. The careless Robert failed to come to the aid of his friends, and they were one by one defeated or forced to come to terms. Some time afterwards Robert Mowbray rebelled and fortified Bamborough; but he was captured when away from his stronghold, and his wife was forced to surrender by the threat of seeing her husband blinded. This happened in 1095.

Rebellion of the barons.

In 1090 William, who had won over to his side a number of the barons of Normandy, invaded that duchy; but the nobles who held land on both sides of the Channel disliked either a war or a separation between England and Normandy, because they feared to lose one or other of their estates; so they brought about an arrangement by which it was settled that, if either brother died without children, the other was to succeed to his dominions. William shortly afterwards found means to induce his brother to pledge him Normandy for a sum of money.

William invades Normandy.

William found both the Scots and Welsh troublesome neighbours, and had to take means to defend his kingdom from their assaults. Malcolm, King of Scots, the brother-in-law of Edgar Atheling, sympathized with the barons, and had claims of his own to Cumberland and Westmoreland, which had been granted by King Edmund to the King of Scots, and he took the opportunity of William's absence in Normandy to invade the northern counties. On his return from the Continent, William marched against him, and, being struck with the position of Carlisle on the south bank of the river Eden, caused it to be fortified, and

Policy towards Scotland.

peopled it with a colony of south-country men. Situated at one extremity of the old Roman wall, it matched Newcastle at the other, and these two fortresses made it harder for the Scots to penetrate into Durham and Cumberland than formerly. Malcolm was soon afterwards slain in Northumberland, near Alnwick.

Carlisle fortified.

Twice William invaded Wales with a regular army, but found his heavy cavalry no match for the agile Welshmen in their mountains and ravines, so he contented himself with checking the depredations of the Welsh by building a line of fortresses in Cheshire and the Severn Valley. At the same time, he arranged that the war should be carried into their territory by making a free grant of all land taken from the Welsh to the conqueror. This plan afforded occupation to the unruly barons of the border, and was so successful that in a short time almost all the lowlands of Wales and the southern coast were in the hands of Norman adventurers.

Policy towards Wales.

Lanfranc died in 1089, and the king then made Ranulf Flambard his chief adviser. Flambard was one of the Normans who had been in England in the time of Edward the Confessor. He was an ecclesiastic, and an able as well as an unscrupulous man; but he served the king well, and helped him to grow rich by enforcing the feudal dues. When any man who held land from the king died, his heir had to pay a large sum of money called a "relief," because it was paid on *taking up* the estate. If the heir was a minor, the king acted as his guardian, bringing him up, but putting the proceeds of the estate into the royal treasury; and when he came of age he had to pay a relief as well. If the heir happened to be a woman, the king claimed the right to bestow her in marriage, and in this way rewarded his friends. All these rights the king exercised, because the landowners were regarded as officers as well as tenants of the king, whose chief duty was to defend their estates, and to provide soldiers to fight for the king; and the king naturally claimed to see that these matters were not neglected during a minority, and that an heiress did not marry one of his enemies. By enforcing these dues strictly, and also by exacting heavy aids, *i.e.* taxes paid by the feudal tenants, the king kept the treasury well supplied.

Extortions of Flambard.

Feudal dues.

The clergy at that time held the greater part of their lands, just like laymen, by feudal tenure, but with this difference. There were no minorities and no heiresses, and so the king and Flambard tried to make up for this, first, by keeping bishoprics and abbeys vacant while they seized the revenues; and, secondly, by making the new bishops and abbots pay a large sum before they were allowed to be consecrated. Thus, after Lanfranc's death, no new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed for four years, and William was only, when he thought himself dying, induced to name Anselm as Lanfranc's successor. William, however, recovered, and he then found that his new archbishop, a pious and able man, did not approve of his manner of life, and the way he was robbing the Church. A series of quarrels followed, and at last Anselm left England to lay his case before the Pope.

Exactions from the Clergy.

In 1096 all Europe was stirred by the preparations for the first Crusade. Many years before, Jerusalem had been conquered by the Arab followers of Mahomet; but they had treated the Christians well, and allowed them either to live in the city, or to come and go as pilgrims or merchants. Under their rule the Easter fair at Jerusalem became one of the great events of the commercial world, where Italian merchants met the traders of the East, and the spices and silks of Arabia and India were exchanged for the productions of Europe. But in 1076 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Seljukian Turks, a wild tribe of Mahometans, who had made their way from the highlands of Asia. They hated Christianity, and cared nothing for commerce, so they oppressed pilgrims and merchants alike; and by degrees trade was utterly ruined, and the cries of the persecuted pilgrims, and the murmurs of the ruined Italians, coupled with the fears of the Emperor at Constantinople that he would be exposed to the attacks of the barbarous infidels, created the greatest excitement in Europe. The Normans who had been fighting the Saracens in Sicily had long been anxious to extend their conquests in the East; so Normans, Emperor, Italians, and adventurers were only too thankful when Peter the Hermit, who had himself suffered from the persecutions of the Turks, travelled through Europe and preached a holy war, for the

Causes of the first Crusade.

Preaching of Peter the Hermit.

recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the unbelievers. Pope Urban II. took up the cry, and when it was raised, plenty of people, some from pure motives, some from interest, were eager to join in the expedition. The kings of France and England approved the plan, for it took away some of the most warlike of their subjects, and William Rufus was glad to take Normandy in pledge for ten thousand marks, to enable his brother Robert to betake himself to the East. After numerous adventures the Crusaders, or Crossmen, who wore the cross on their backs, conquered Jerusalem and established a Christian kingdom. Except a few of the leaders, who acquired shares in the new conquests, such as Bohemund, a Norman of Tarentum, who became Prince of Antioch, few of the Crusaders gained much except glory from their efforts, and the real advantage of the Crusades fell to the peaceful inhabitants of Europe, to the kings, who, in the absence of their vassals, took the opportunity to consolidate their power, and to the merchants of the Italian republics, such as Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, who, under the banner of the Cross, re-established their trade with the far East.

The first Crusade.

While Robert was away, William, who had been hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire, was found with an arrow in his heart, and though many stories were told of the event, no one can say with certainty how or by whose hand he met his death.

Death of William.

CHAPTER III.

Henry I., 1100–1135 (35 years).

Born 1068; married { 1100, Matilda of Scotland. / 1121, Adela of Louvain. }

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Anselm, Robert of Bellême, Roger of Salisbury, William Clito.

Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, was hunting in the forest when Rufus was killed, and he hurried at once to Winchester to secure the treasures of the late king. Robert was still in the East, and no one pressed his claims; so a small assembly of prelates and nobles chose Henry for king, and he was crowned, in the absence of Anselm, by Maurice, Bishop of London.

Election of Henry I.

The new king began his reign by four popular acts. He issued a charter, married Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scots and Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, put Ranulf Flambard in prison, and recalled Anselm.

Popular acts.

Henry's charter is a very important document; it shows us what were the chief grievances of which the nobles and clergy complained, and the way in which they might be remedied. Henry promised that the Church should be free, and that all bad customs should be abolished, especially that of making a profit out of the revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbeys, which had been the chief cause of complaint against William Rufus. The nobles were to pay to the king only such reliefs as were just and lawful, instead of any sum that the king might choose to demand; and heiresses and widows were not to be married against their will. Lands which were held by knight-service, *i.e.* on condition that the holder should provide a horseman in armour for the king's wars, were to be free from any other service. All personal property, *i.e.* money, chattels, or

Charter of Henry.

Church.

Nobles.

furniture, might be disposed of by will. To conciliate the lower orders, the tenants-in-chief were ordered to deal with their tenants as the king dealt by them. The laws of Edward the Confessor were to be retained with the improvements which had been introduced by William the Conqueror. This charter shows us the exact position of the king. He was in conflict with the higher classes, the clergy, and the nobles; but between them and the people he was an arbitrator, to whom they could look for justice, and hence, when the king found himself at war with his nobles, he could ask the people to support him as their champion.

People.

Henry's marriage with Matilda was popular with the English, whom he wished to please; but it annoyed the Normans, who laughed at Henry and his queen, as the Goodman Godric and his wife Godgifu, after some English story. The children of the marriage, as descendants of William the Conqueror and of Alfred, had a claim to the allegiance of both peoples.

Imprisonment of Flambard.

The imprisonment of Ranulf Flambard was pleasing to Churchmen, nobles, and people alike. It was said that he had not only fleeced, but flayed the flock. His ill-gotten wealth, however, helped him to get a rope conveyed into the Tower in a jar of wine, and with it he managed to escape, and fled to Normandy.

War with the barons.

Henry had not been king long before he found himself at war with his barons. Their leader was Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, and son of Roger of Montgomery, an old ally of Odo of Bayeux. He held a number of strong castles on the Welsh border, and was by far the most powerful lord in England. Henry marched against him, captured him and his castles, and drove him into exile. The English were delighted at his fate, and said, "Rejoice, King Henry, and praise the Lord God; for you are now a true king, having beaten Robert de Bellême and driven him into exile." Throughout his reign, Henry always had the good will of the English, for his English birth and English wife made him more to them than the Norman Williams; and to please them he learnt both to read and to speak the English tongue.

Robert's claim to the Crown.

When Robert came home he naturally claimed the crown, in accordance with the arrangement made with Rufus; but the English supported Henry, and Robert was

obliged to content himself with Normandy. When Robert of Bellême was expelled, he retired to Normandy and set himself to stir up war between the duke and his brother. In 1106 Henry, with an army of whom many were English, completely defeated Robert at Tenchebrai. The duke was captured and imprisoned, and Henry became master of the whole of Normandy. The English looked on Tenchebrai as a revenge for their defeat at Hastings forty years before. In 1118 Henry completely defeated the French at Brenville.

Henry's quarrel with Anselm.

During the early years of his reign, Henry was engaged in a quarrel with Anselm. As the clergy held most of their lands from the king as feudal vassals, and had to perform the same military services as laymen, it was of great importance to the king that his bishops and abbots should not be his enemies. The kings, therefore, insisted upon their right of granting investiture to abbots and bishops by giving them the ring and staff, and of receiving homage from them for their lands. When Anselm was on the Continent, he became acquainted with an attempt which the pope was making to regain for the Church the control over her own officers, and on his return he refused to consecrate bishops who had done homage for their lands to the king. Henry clearly could not allow the clergy, who owned a very large part of the country, to become independent of him, so he refused to give way. But both Henry and Anselm were reasonable men, and in 1107 it was agreed that the election of bishops should be in the hands of the cathedral clergy, but that the choice should be made in the king's court, that the man chosen should then do homage[1] for his land to the king, and that the archbishop should not refuse to consecrate the bishop-elect, and give him the ring and staff, because he had done such homage for his land. In this way the Church was saved from the scandal of having her bishops directly appointed by the king; on the other hand, the king retained his hold over the feudal services due from the Church lands, and in reality was still able to secure the election of his friends.

Election of bishops.

After Henry had settled his difficulties with his brother Robert

[1] To do homage meant to become the man of another from whom you held land, by an oath binding you to become his man of life and limb, and to hold faith for the lands held from him.

and with Anselm, and had defeated the barons in the person of Robert of Bellême, few events of importance occurred for some years, and the time was employed in organizing the administration of the country. In this he was aided by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who had risen from being the king's chaplain to be his most trusted adviser, and who played a most important part in the system of government. Shire-moots and hundred-moots were ordered to meet regularly as heretofore, which was a great advantage to the common people and a great check to the barons, because they gave ready justice to all, and as they were presided over by the king's officer, the sheriff, the nobles were prevented from getting into their hands the administration of justice.

Henry's constitutional reforms.

Shire-moots and hundred-moots.

After the Conquest the place of the Witena-gemot was taken by the Magnum Concilium, or Great Council, in which sat the archbishops, bishops, chief abbots, and earls, and also the tenants-in-chief, that is, men who held their land as vassals of the king, who took the place of the king's Thegns. It was, however, summoned only on great occasions, and the chief business was done by the Curia Regis, or king's law court, which tried all cases between the great nobles, and other cases on appeal from the shire-moot. The members of this court were mainly the great officers of the realm, such as the Justiciar,[1] Chancellor, Treasurer, and others; but the king could always name any one else to be a member of the court. When the court was sitting to give advice to the king on matters of state, it was called the king's Ordinary Council, as opposed to the Great Council which sat on special occasions; when it was dealing with matters concerning the king's revenue, which formed at that time a large share of the business, it was called the Court of Exchequer; and when it acted as a law court, simply the King's Court, or Curia

Magnum Concilium.

Curia Regis.

[1] The Justiciar, under the Norman and early Angevin kings, was the chief officer of the realm. He usually acted as the king's representative, and in the king's absence presided over the Curia Regis. From this his chief duties became legal, and his title is still preserved in that of Chief Justice. The Chancellor was the king's chief secretary, and keeper of his seal. He afterwards took the Justiciar's place as Chief Minister. The Treasurer kept the king's treasure. He succeeded the Chancellor as Chief Minister, and is now represented by a set of Commissioners of whom the chief is called the First Lord of the Treasury.

Regis. Henry made this court sit regularly, and some of its money accounts made in this reign are still preserved.

Moreover, he connected the shire-moots with this court by sometimes sending members of the Curia Regis to sit in the shire-moots, which was a step towards collecting into a regular system the administration of justice throughout the country. By this Henry conferred a great benefit on his subjects, and the order he kept was so good that he gained the honourable title of "The Lion of Justice."

Itinerant justices.

Henry and Matilda had two children, William and Matilda. In 1120, when William was eighteen, his father began to take steps to secure for him the kingdom, and made the barons of Normandy swear allegiance to him. Unfortunately, on the return voyage, the prince's ship, owing to the drunken carelessness of the crew, ran upon a rock and sank, and all on board but one perished. After the death of his son, Henry married again, for his wife Matilda had died in 1118; but, as he had no children, he set about securing the succession for Matilda, his daughter.

Death of Prince William.

This lady had married Henry V., the emperor; she had no children, and on his death had returned to England in 1125. Accordingly, Henry called his barons together, and persuaded them to swear allegiance to her as their future sovereign. Henry's great fear was that William Clito, son of Robert of Normandy, would be her rival, as he was a young and vigorous man, and had the support of the King of France; so, to strengthen Matilda on the Continent, he arranged a marriage between her and Geoffrey, the son of Fulk, Count of Anjou. This marriage pleased neither the English nor the Normans, of whom the Angevins were the hereditary foes; and as Geoffrey was only sixteen, and had a violent temper, it was not happy for Matilda herself. However, three sons were born of it, which was a source of pleasure to Henry. Shortly after the marriage, Henry's fears were removed by the death of William Clito.

Allegiance sworn to Matilda.

The last few years of his reign were uneventful, and Henry himself died in 1135. He was a great king. His instinct made him do what was best for his people, who wanted nothing so much as to be safe from the turbulence of the great landowners. Under him commerce, which was fostered by the

Henry's death and character.

connection between England and the Continent, flourished, towns sprang into importance, and the townsmen often bought from the king a charter to allow them to pay a fixed tax to the exchequer instead of having their payments assessed by the sheriff, a concession which added to their consequence, and was a great source of security to the traders against the injustice of the sheriffs.

Flourishing state of the towns.

Henry was a scholar himself, and encouraged learning. He knew French, English, Latin, and perhaps Greek. Under him the monasteries, many of which had been founded by the Normans, became schools for the nobility. In them manuscripts were collected and copied, histories were written, and each little society of monks became in that rude age a centre of civilization and comparative refinement.

State of learning.

Of the English monks there were three principal branches. First, the Benedictines, who followed the rule of St. Benedict, an Italian monk of the sixth century, to which order all the old English monasteries had been made by Dunstan to conform. Second, the Clugniacs, who followed the rule of the Abbey of Clugny, which had led a religious revival in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Third, the Cistercians, who, under the lead of the Abbey of Cîteaux, tried in the twelfth century to restore the strictness of older times. Each of these orders at its foundation attracted into its ranks the most earnest and spiritual men of the time, but under the influence of increasing wealth, each gradually fell from its high ideal, and made way for some new order, which in its turn repeated the history of its predecessors. While their enthusiasm lasted the service done to civilization by the monks was immense. Each abbey was an outpost of culture in its own district, where it gave an example of peaceful industry and orderly life in an age too much given to divide its time between warfare and debauchery. Nor was the influence of the monks only moral; but by draining fens and reclaiming forests, making roads and repairing dykes, introducing new fruits and vegetables, and employing new methods of agriculture, they contributed in no small degree to the material progress of the districts in which they had fixed their homes.

The Benedictines.

The Clugniacs.

The Cistercians.

CHAPTER IV.

STEPHEN, 1135–1154 (19 years).
Born *circ.* 1094; married, 1124, Matilda of Boulogne.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**Matilda, Roger of Salisbury, Henry of Winchester, Robert of Gloucester, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury.**

WHEN Henry was dead, all his schemes for the succession of his daughter fell to the ground. As yet no woman had ruled in England, and the Norman barons could ill brook the reign of a woman; and more than that, Matilda was the wife of the hated Angevin Geoffrey. Moreover, Matilda represented the system of the Conqueror and his sons, which was distasteful to the barons, and accordingly they set aside the plan of Henry I., broke their oaths to Matilda, and chose a king to rule over them.

Unpopularity of Matilda.

Their choice fell upon Stephen, the son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, by her husband the Count of Blois, one of the most notable of the Crusaders. Stephen had been a great favourite of Henry I., who had made him Earl of Leicester and enriched him with great possessions, so that he was regarded as the leading baron in England. On the death of Henry, which happened in Normandy, Stephen set off for England, and by the assistance of his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, on the plea that the late king had on his death-bed released the barons from their oaths, was elected king by the great men and by the Londoners. Meanwhile Matilda was trying to secure Normandy; but her Angevin friends excited the hatred of the Normans, who readily accepted Stephen as their duke. Thus Stephen gained possession of both countries.

Election of Stephen.

Stephen was brave, energetic, handsome, and generous; but he

was not the man to keep up the wise administration of the first Norman kings, and at the very outset he made mistakes which caused him endless difficulty afterwards. To keep a garrison in every castle, and only to allow new castles to be built by special licence, had been one of the great objects of the Conqueror and his sons. Stephen foolishly allowed the nobles to build castles on their own lands, and the natural result was that a swarm of castles sprang up, and soon the king found it necessary to engage in a series of sieges in order to capture castles which, had it not been for himself, would never have existed.

Character of Stephen. His mistakes.

The first person to declare in favour of Matilda was Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry I., and as he was soon joined by Milo of Hereford, a party for Matilda began to be formed in the west of England.

Robert of Gloucester.

The same year, 1138, that Robert of Gloucester declared for Matilda, her uncle, David King of Scots, another of her supporters, invaded the north of England. He advanced into Yorkshire, and was there met by an army of Norman knights and English footmen, which had been collected by the exertions of Thurstan, Archbishop of York. To encourage the soldiers, Thurstan allowed them to take with them the sacred banners of St. Peter, St. Wilfrid, and St. John of Beverley. These were placed on a car, and when the Scots attacked the English near Northallerton, they closed up round the car. No efforts of the Scots could break their ranks, and the victory which was thus won was called the "battle of the Standard." It was the first of the great victories gained by the north-country men of England over the Scots.

Invasion of the Scots.

Hitherto Stephen's best supporter had been his brother Henry, who enlisted the Church in his favour; but in 1139 Stephen offended the clergy by rashly attacking the justiciar Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, his son the chancellor, and his nephews the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, the last of whom was also treasurer, on the plea that they were favourable to Matilda. These prelates held several strong castles, and as they had in their hands the three great offices of state, they were very powerful. Stephen was successful in getting them into

Attack on Roger of Salisbury.

his power; but it was foolish to alienate the Church, as he was thus left without support against his rival Matilda.

Hearing of his mistake, Matilda came to England, and was allowed by Stephen, from an idea of the courtesy due to a lady, to join her half-brother and supporter, Robert of Gloucester. Her arrival kindled a civil war, of which most of the barons took advantage to shut themselves up in their castles, and support themselves by the pillage of their neighbours. It was a terrible time for the English; trade and agriculture were ruined, and it was said that God and His saints were asleep, so terrible were the wrongs which were done in the land. Some barons pressed men to death in chests full of stones, or fastened a mass of iron to their necks so that they could neither sit, nor lie, nor sleep. Others put their prisoners in noisome dungeons with rats and toads; others hung them up, and caused smoke to blow over them, so that they were all but choked. But some good came out of it all, for it taught the people that they must have a strong king who could keep the barons in check, so that these things should never be done again.

Matilda's arrival in England.

Terrible cruelties of the barons.

The details of the war are unimportant. First Stephen was taken prisoner while besieging Randolf, Earl of Chester, in Lincoln Castle. Then Robert of Gloucester fell into the hands of Stephen's queen, and was exchanged for Stephen. In 1141 Matilda was acknowledged as lady of the English; but her insolence soon alienated the Londoners, and disgusted Henry, Stephen's brother, who had for a time taken her side. Then the tide turned against her, and she was so closely besieged by Stephen at Oxford, that she was only saved by dressing herself in white, and escaping at midnight over the ice. After a time she left England, and retired to Normandy.

Varying fortunes of the war.

In 1151, Matilda's son Henry became, by the death of his father, Count of Anjou; and the next year he made a lucky match with Eleanor, Duchess of Guienne, who had been divorced by Louis VII., King of France. From his mother he had now obtained Normandy and Maine; from his father, Anjou and Touraine; and from his wife, Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Guienne, and Gascony.

Henry of Anjou.

The movements of young Henry were viewed with suspicion by Stephen, who attempted to get the bishops to recognize his own son Eustace as his successor; but they, headed by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to do this, and soon afterwards Eustace died. In 1153 Henry invaded England and renewed the war; but, after his son's death, Stephen had little heart for the contest, and it was not hard to bring about an arrangement at Wallingford, by which Henry was recognized as the heir to the throne. The last year of Stephen's reign was occupied by an attempt to put a stop to some of the disorder which was going on in the kingdom, and in the midst of it Stephen died, in 1154, after an anarchy, rather than reign, which had lasted nineteen years.

Henry acknowledged as Stephen's successor.

GENERAL EVENTS OF THE NORMAN PERIOD.

Last Rebellion of the English against the Normans	1071
First Rebellion by Norman Barons	1074
Domesday Book compiled	1085
First Crusade	1095-1099
Henry I.'s Charter	1100
Investiture dispute settled	1107
Roger of Salisbury begins to organize the Curia Regis	1107
Treaty of Wallingford	1153

CHIEF BATTLES OF NORMAN PERIOD.

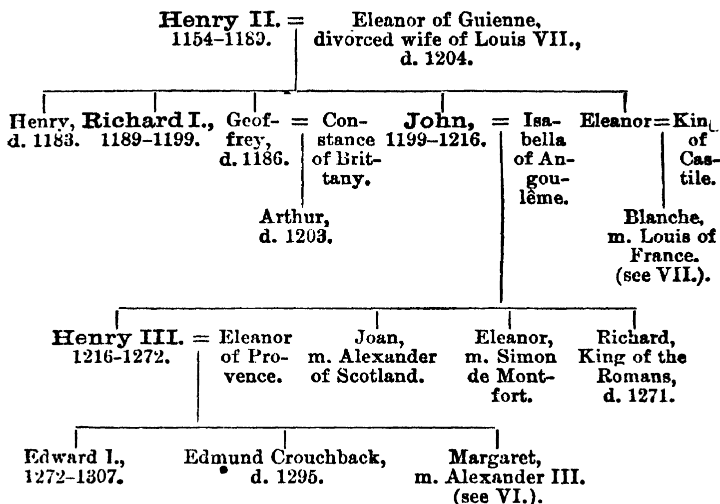
Hastings...	1066
Tenchebrai	1106
Northallerton	1138

BOOK III

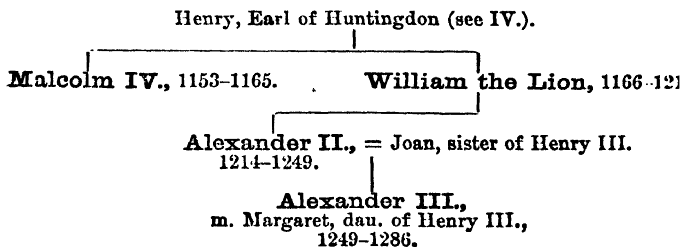
THE EARLIER ANGEVIN KINGS, SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS


ENGLAND
AND
SOUTHERN SCOTLAND
to illustrate
History from 1155 to 1603
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Hills thus
Stirling
Bannockburn
Falkirk
Dunbar
Edinburgh
Pinkie
Halidon Hill
Berwick
Flodden Field
Hedgeley Moor
Alnwick
Otterburn
Solway Moss
Hexham
Newcastle
Carlisle
Neville's Cross
Durham
IRELAND
ISLE OF MAN
North Allerton
Middleham
Boroughbridge
Scarborough
NORTH
Flamborough Hd.
York
Towton
IRISH SEA
SEA
Ferrybridge
Pontefract
Ravenspur
Wakefield
Trent
ANGLESEA
Lincoln
Flint
Carnarvon
Chester
Hawarden
Newark
Bloreheath
Stoke
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Nottingham
Tutbury
Fens
Mousehold Hill
Norwich
Bosworth
Leicester
Ludlow
Severn
Fotheringay
Losecoat Field
Mortimer's Cross
Coventry
Kenilworth
Warwick
Northampton
Ouse
Avon
Wye
Evesham
Cambridge
Edgecote
Bedford
Hereford
Orwell
MILFORD HAVEN
Pembroke
Tewkesbury
Gloucester
Oxford
St. Albans
Barnet
Radcot Bridge
Windsor
London
Tilbury
Blackheath
Bristol
Canterbury
Sevenoaks
Leeds
Dover
Salisbury
Rye
Romney
Winchelsea
Hastings
Lewes
Exeter
St. Mary's Clyst
I. OF WIGHT
Weymouth
Plymouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ALDERNEY
GUERNSEY
SARK
CHANNEL ISLANDS
JERSEY
FRANCE
NORMANDY

V.—THE EARLIER ANGEVIN KINGS, 1154–1272.



VI.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1153–12



VII.—KINGS OF FRANCE, 987-1285.

Hugh Capet, 987–996.
|
Robert I., 996–1031.
|
Henry I., 1031–1060.
|
Philip I., 1060–1108.
|
Louis VI., 1108–1137.
|
Louis VII. = (1) Eleanor of Provence,
1137–1180. divorced 1152.
(2) Constance of Castile
(3) Alice of Champagne
|
Philip Augustus (3),
1180–1223.
|
Louis VIII. = Blanche of Castile
(invader of England 1216), (see V.).
1223–1226.
|
Louis IX. (Saint), 1226–1270.
|
Philip III., 1270-1285.

Robert,
ancestor of the Bourbon kings (see p. 171.).

CHAPTER I.

HENRY II., 1154–1189 (55 years).
Born 1133; married, 1152, Eleanor of Guienne.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**Archbishop Theobald, Thomas Becket, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, Richard de Lucy, Ranulf Glanville, and William Mandeville.**

AT his accession Henry II. was the monarch of greatest consequence in Europe. He ruled over England and South Wales, with rights over the princes of north Wales and the kings of Scotland; he was Duke of Normandy, and Count of Anjou and Maine, and in right of his wife he possessed the great domains of the Dukes of Guienne, which, with his ancestral dominions, gave him a much larger share of modern France than was held by the kings of France of that day. Moreover, he was a man of very great ability, thoroughly versed in the arts of war and diplomacy, and a determined enforcer of the law. He had a sound mind in a sound body, delighted in the exercise of the chase, never sat down, but kept his courtiers walking till they were tired, and was a traveller so rapid that he astonished his contemporaries by the suddenness of his appearances. With all these good qualities, Henry was terribly passionate, and sometimes, though usually cautious, would allow his temper to get the better of him, and to hurry him into actions or words which afterwards cost him dear.

Character of Henry II.

To such a man as this the disorder of Stephen's reign was abhorrent, and he began at once to clear away the abuses which had disgraced and well-nigh ruined the country. In this work he was assisted by his chancellor, Thomas Becket. Thomas was the son of a London merchant; but while young he was brought under the notice of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. He is said to have been educated at Merton, in Surrey, and afterwards studied at Paris

First measures of the reign.

Character of Becket.

and Bologna. On his return to England, he was made by Theobald Archdeacon of Canterbury. It was Theobald who recommended Becket to Henry, and the king soon appreciated the energy and ability of his character, and made him Chancellor.

Henry's reforms.

The energy shown by Henry and Becket soon bore fruit. The foolish grants made of crown lands by Stephen and Matilda were resumed. The castles built in Stephen's reign were levelled to the ground; the bad money issued from irregular mints was replaced by a good coinage; and the bands of mercenaries who had fought for either side and plundered for themselves, were driven from the country. At the same time, Henry insisted upon his sovereign rights; forced Malcolm, King of Scots, to give up Cumberland and Northumberland, which had been held by the Scots during the last reign; and drove his own brother Geoffrey from Anjou, to which he had set up a claim on Henry's becoming King of England.

War of Toulouse.

In 1159 Henry went to France to attack the county of Toulouse, which he claimed in right of his wife. In his attack on Toulouse Henry was accompanied by Becket, at the head of a band of soldiers. He succeeded in shutting up the count in Toulouse; but refrained from taking that town, because the King of France had come to the assistance of the count, and Henry thought it would be setting a bad example for his nobles if they saw him taking prisoner his own feudal superior.

Institution of scutage.

This expedition, however, though it was not of much importance in itself, had indirectly an immense effect on the subsequent progress of the English nation, by being the occasion of the institution of scutage. It was a rule of feudalism that a tenant was bound to follow his lord to the wars for forty days, in which the going and coming were not counted. Now, this might not be very serious when the king was making war on the Welsh or Scots, but when the English king called on his tenants-in-chief to follow him to Toulouse or Guienne, it was a very serious matter indeed. As the English kings were now holders of large possessions on the Continent, it was plain that such calls would put a very heavy strain upon the system; so a new and most important practise was introduced, namely, that of commuting personal service with the king for a payment in money, called shield-money—scutage,

or escuage—amounting to forty shillings on each knight's fee, or holding, which was bound to provide one horseman. This had great results, for on the one hand it gave the king a sum of money with which he might hire volunteers to serve for him, and on the other it relieved the tenants-in-chief from a burden, and also had a tendency to make them less warlike, and therefore less dangerous, both to the king and the peaceable inhabitants of the country.

Results of scutage.

This arrangement was probably due to Becket, and when Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, Henry thought that he could not do better than use his influence to get his chancellor, who had served him so well in the state, made Archbishop of Canterbury. A difficulty had arisen about the trial of clergymen. William the Conqueror had removed the bishop from the shire-moot, in which before the Conquest he had sat with the ealdorman, and given him a court of his own; and from that time forward ecclesiastical cases were tried before the bishops and the archdeacons in their own courts. The question now arose whether clergymen who were accused of crime were to be tried by the bishop, or by the shire-moot like laymen. There was a very real difference between the two courts; for the bishop's court could not inflict death, but only fine or imprisonment in a monastery, or deprive a man of his clerical orders. In those days there were no less than seven orders of clergy, so that, practically, every professional man who was not a regular soldier belonged to some extent to the clergy, and so, if clerics were to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the lay courts, it meant that all educated persons were to be punished, when they committed crime, with less severity than if they were ignorant. The clergy, however, feared that, if the king once got every criminal clergyman under the jurisdiction of lay courts, the clergy as a whole would lose their independence. Henry hoped that Becket would take his view, and help him to carry his reform.

Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Trial of clergy.

But Becket, when Archbishop of Canterbury, took a very different view of his duty towards his order to that which Henry expected, and entirely refused to give way. His idea seems to have been that if a clergyman were found guilty of murder, it would be sufficient punishment to unfrock him, and then,

Becket's proposal.

if he committed another, he would be a layman, and could be hanged as such. In other words, it took two murders to hang a clergyman, and one to hang a layman. Henry's wish was that a clergyman, tried and convicted in the lay courts, should be unfrocked by the bishop, and handed back to the sheriff to be hanged or otherwise punished. (See note, page 75.)

Henry's proposal.

A very flagrant case of under punishment had just occurred, so in 1163 Henry took advantage of it to take the matter in hand. A code of the laws relating to Church and State, known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, was drawn up in 1164, some of which were old and some new. Becket, who had at first been induced to accept this, afterwards withdrew his acceptation, and hurried from the kingdom to appeal to the pope. Henry insisted upon the Constitutions of Clarendon being enforced, and one of the chroniclers tells us that men might see the mournful spectacle of priests and deacons, who had committed murder and robbery and other crimes, dragged before the king's judges and executed just as if they had been ordinary men. For six years the struggle went on; but at last, in 1169, Becket and Henry patched up a renewal of friendship without exactly settling the question of the Constitutions, and Becket returned to England.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

Unfortunately, a new cause of offence had been given to Becket. Henry had desired to have his eldest son Henry crowned in his life-time, after the German and French fashion, and, in Becket's absence, the ceremony was performed by Roger, Archbishop of York, who had long been Becket's rival. On his return, Becket excommunicated Roger and the bishops who had taken the king's side. This so annoyed Henry that he let fall the words, "Are there none of the cowards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest?"

New quarrel with Becket.

Stung by the taunt, four knights in the service of the king hurried to Canterbury, and, after an angry interview with Becket, murdered him in the cathedral, 1170. No more wretched thing, both for Henry and for England, could have happened. Of course, Becket was looked on as a martyr, and it was out of the question to enforce the Constitutions of Clarendon, when every one said that miracles were being worked at the tomb of the man who had shed

Murder of Becket.

Its results.

his blood in defending the Church against them. For years the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was the most popular event in English life, and it was only by very slow steps that the state gradually recovered the hold over the clergy and the Church which was lost by the fatal impatience of the murderers of Thomas Becket.

During the time the struggle with Becket was going on, Henry had been engaged in reforming the administration of justice in the shire-moots, or county courts. The sheriff had since the Conquest presided over the court of his county; but Henry, in 1166, began the practice of regularly sending two or more judges from the Curia Regis to sit in the county courts. These judges were called *justices in eyre*, *i.e.* justices on journey, and their journeys were arranged in regular circuits, which underwent little change down to quite recent times.

Reform of the shire-moot.

Itinerant justices.

When the county court met, twelve knights from each hundred and four men from each township presented to the judges such men as were notorious murderers or robbers, or receivers of such. The judge then ordered these men to be put to the ordeal. If they were found guilty, they were punished by hanging or otherwise; and even if they were innocent by the ordeal, it was thought that they must be good-for-nothing fellows, so they were ordered to leave the country. The body of sixteen men formed a sort of Grand Jury, who presented persons believed to be criminals to the judges, but their guilt or innocence was determined by the ordeal.

Origin of the grand jury.

Some years later, in 1215, a Lateran Council, held at Rome by Pope Innocent III., forbade the use of the ordeal. It was then necessary to replace the ordeal by a little, or petty jury. This consisted of twelve sworn men, who were taken from the neighbourhood where the crime was committed, and were supposed to know the facts of the case. If they did not agree others were added, till twelve gave a verdict one way or another. At a later date the additional jurymen only gave evidence before the original twelve, who gave the verdict on the evidence of the witnesses, as is done at present. As the petty jury was a substitute for the ordeal, the prisoner could not speak in his own defence, and till modern times he could not even call

Origin of the petty jury.

witnesses in his behalf; but it was assumed that he was innocent unless the jury were certain that he was guilty. The improved method of holding the county courts was introduced by the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, and carried further by the Assize of Northampton in 1176.

Origin of the civil jury.

During Henry's reign an important change had been made in the way of conducting the trial of civil cases. In Old English times these cases had been decided by the oaths of persons who knew the facts, such as where the boundary of an estate in dispute ran, or who owned a certain wood; but the Normans introduced the trial by battle, in which such questions were decided by the issue of a combat between the suitors or their representatives. Such a decision was obviously most unfair, and the practice was much disliked, so the plan was introduced of deciding such cases by the oaths of a jury of sworn men. This jury was a civil jury, and must be distinguished from the grand and petty juries in criminal cases.

Cause of the settlement of Normans in Ireland.

During the Becket struggle a step was made towards the conquest of Ireland. After the Northmen had settled in Normandy many adventurers sought for themselves settlements and kingdoms elsewhere. One Norman became Prince of Apulia, another King of Sicily; many had joined in the Crusades, and one, William the Conqueror, had become King of England. Many had won estates in England and Wales; others, like the Bruces and Balliols, held property in Scotland; so it was only natural that Norman knights should interfere in the quarrels of the Irish chiefs, and try to win for themselves lands in that country.

State of Ireland in the twelfth century.

Ireland, in the time of Henry II., was in much the same state that England had been in the time of the Heptarchy; it was divided into a number of small kingdoms, presided over by a head king, called the Ardriagh. In Dublin and the towns on the eastern coast lived the Ostmen, or Norwegian settlers, who settled in the country during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Ireland was Christian, and many of its clergy had been distinguished for their learning; but its Christianity was of the Celtic type, which had been rejected by the English at the Synod of Whitby.

At the beginning of his reign, Henry had taken advantage of the

papacy of a great Englishman, Nicolas Breakspear (Hadrian IV.), to obtain from him a bull authorizing him to conquer Ireland, and bring the practices of the Irish Church into accordance with those of the rest of Europe; but he had never had time to act upon it.

Henry's design of conquering Ireland.

However, in 1169 three Normans of Pembrokeshire, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, surnamed Strongbow, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, took the part of Dermot, King of Leinster, who had been expelled from his kingdom. He landed in Ireland with a small body of men, obtained a footing in the country, and conquered Dublin and a good part of the east coast. Henry condemned their action, but insisted on sharing the spoil, and in 1171, just after Becket's murder, he went over to Ireland, and his supremacy was acknowledged by the chiefs. His son John was afterwards nominated Lord of Ireland in 1177; but the English with difficulty maintained their ground in the counties round Dublin, which were called the English pale, and the real conquest of Ireland did not take place till the time of the Tudors.

Invasion of Ireland by the Normans.

The years 1173 and 1174 were marked by a great combination of Henry's enemies, who attempted to defeat him by a simultaneous attack in England and on the Continent. It was now one hundred years since the first rebellion of the barons against William the Conqueror, and the struggle had been going on ever since. During the reign of Stephen the barons had done pretty much what they liked, with what results we have noticed; but under Henry II. they had been losing ground, while the king, strong in the support of the middle classes, and of the soldiers he hired with the scutage money, and helped by able men, such as Richard de Lucy, William Mandeville, and Ranulf Glanville, was rapidly bringing the kingdom into thoroughly good order.

Causes of the barons' discontent.

Accordingly, in 1173, the barons took advantage of a quarrel which had arisen between the king and his sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, to construct a general league against Henry; and into this alliance entered Louis of France, to whose court the young Henry had fled, the Count of Flanders, the King of Scotland, and the disaffected barons of England and Normandy. The plan was to invade England and Normandy simul-

Barons' rising.

taneously; but Henry was on his guard, and beat the French and Bretons in Normandy, while Richard de Lucy and William Mandeville routed the barons of England. Henry's difficulties were not yet over; the Scots invaded England, and Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, was still in arms in the eastern counties. So great was the crisis, that Henry thought it good to come to England and do penance at the tomb of Becket, lest any should still regard him as under a murderer's curse. To his great joy, however, he heard that the very day he was on his knees at Canterbury, William the Lion, King of Scots, had been captured at Alnwick; and shortly afterward, the barons who were in arms in Norfolk were put down, and this, the last attempt of the barons to make themselves independent of the crown, was at an end.

Capture of the King of Scots.

Henry took advantage of the captivity of the King of Scots to make him not only do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, but also put the castles of Lothian in English hands, by the treaty of Falaise, made 1174.

Treaty with Scotland.

The remaining years of Henry's reign were occupied with completing his reforms in England and quarrelling with his sons on the Continent. In 1178 he made a change in the Curia Regis, which was a great step in developing our judicial system. We saw that when the Curia Regis was dealing with the revenue, it was called the court of exchequer. In this year a selection of five judges was made from those of the Curia Regis, who sat as a court to hear cases, and this court before long developed into the two courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. In theory the court of King's Bench tried cases in which the king was concerned, which were called pleas of the crown; the court of Common Pleas tried cases between one subject and another. From each of these courts there was an appeal to the king in the Ordinary Council.

Development of the Curia Regis.

The last great measure of Henry was the assize of arms. Before the Conquest, every free man from sixteen to sixty had been liable to serve in the fyrd, or militia, and afterwards, though the feudal array had been more prominent, the fyrd had been called out to fight against the Scots at Northallerton, against the Welsh, against Robert of Bellême, and on many other occasions. However, since the institution of scutage, Henry had

Assize of arms.

used the feudal obligation as a means rather of raising money than soldiers, so he determined to organize the militia anew. Accordingly, in 1181, an assize of arms was issued, which regulated the national fyrd, or militia, stated what arms each freeman was to possess according to his wealth, and arranged for the inspection of these arms at regular intervals. In this way the king had two armies—one a small one of paid troops, whom he hired to garrison his castles and fight his battles on the Continent; the other the militia, on whom he relied for the defence of England against foreign foes, or for putting down insurrection at home. Only freeholders were allowed to serve in the militia.

Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.

In 1187, news was brought to Europe that Jerusalem had again fallen into the hands of the Mahomedans. The small Turkish states, which had been singly no match for the Christians, had been united by Saladin into one great power, which stretched from the Euphrates to the Nile, and before its strength the Christians of Jerusalem were defeated in the battle of Tiberias, and Jerusalem was lost. The news stirred Europe to its depths. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa started to the relief of the Christians; and Henry had such thoughts of following him, that he collected from his subjects a tenth of their goods, which was called the Saladin tithe. This tax is notable because it was the first laid, like an income tax, on personal property, all previous taxes having been laid on land only.

The Saladin Tithe.

The quarrels between Henry and his sons, however, prevented him from going to the East. His eldest son Henry had died in 1183, but Richard was in arms against his father with Philip of France. They drove Henry from Touraine and reduced him to great straits. Henry still relied on the good will of his youngest son John; but, on seeing his name among a list of noblemen who had joined the French king, he had no heart to continue the struggle, and died, we may almost say of a broken heart, in 1189.

NOTE ON HENRY'S PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE TRIAL OF CLERGY.— It is now generally thought that Henry's proposition amounted to the accused clerk being tried in the *ecclesiastical* court in presence of a royal officer, and, on conviction or confession, being unfrocked and handed over to the officer for punishment as a layman.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD I., 1189–1199 (10 years).
Born 1157; married, 1191, Berengaria of Navarre.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—William Longchamp, Walter of Coutance, Hugh of Avalon, Hubert Walter, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter.

Preparations for a crusade.

ON the death of his father, Richard became king without opposition. His chief wish was to lead a crusade and win glory in the Holy Land, and he looked upon England as only useful to provide the money for that end. Accordingly, he sold all the offices of state in England, and for the sum of ten thousand marks gave up the concessions which William the Lion had made to Henry II. at the treaty of Falaise, and so restored the relations between the King of England and the King of Scots to the same uncertain condition as they had been before that treaty.

Persecutions of the Jews.

As was usual when people were filled with crusading zeal, the Jews suffered from persecution. In England this people were regarded as the king's property, and, being taxed by him at will, were a source of great wealth to him. But, as most of their money was made by money-lending, they were hated by the borrowers, who were glad to take advantage of any excuse to attack them. Accordingly, when Richard took the lead in exacting money from the Jews for the Crusade, a general attack and massacre followed, and London, York, Norwich, with other great towns were the scenes of great atrocities. When Richard had got as much money as he wanted, he left England, and prepared to set out for the East.

Government in Richard's absence.

In Richard's absence the government of England was entrusted to William Longchamp, the Chancellor, who became Justiciar and Papal Legate, so that he held in his own hands the chief civil and ecclesiastical authority. To satisfy his younger brother John, of whom he was extremely

suspicious, Richard entirely neglected the policy of William the Conqueror, and made him earl of territories which amounted to almost a third of the kingdom, but exacted an oath from him that he would never come to England. John does not seem to have expected his brother back again from the wars, and acted as if he might at any time become king. In this he was helped by Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, a natural son of Henry II.; and the two raised the barons against Longchamp, who was expelled, and retired to Normandy. Longchamp's place was taken by Walter of Coutance, Archbishop of Rouen, who brought letters of authority from Richard, and conducted the government of the country till he was succeeded by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, the nephew of Ranulf Glanville, who had been justiciar under Henry II.

Richard's adventures.

Meanwhile Richard had travelled by sea to Sicily, where he met his ally, Philip of France, at the court of Tancred, King of Sicily, who was himself a Norman. There Richard was married to Berengaria of Navarre, and thence he sailed to Cyprus, which he captured in revenge for the murder of some shipwrecked sailors. He then went to Acre, where he found Philip of France.

Siege of Acre.

Acre is a seaport town not far from Mount Carmel, and commands the coast of Syria. It had fallen into the hands of the Mahomedans, and was besieged by the Christians, who were themselves attacked by Saladin; so it was difficult to say who were the besieged and who the besiegers. The energy of Richard carried all before him, and the city was taken 1191; but Richard, though brave and energetic, was not the man to weld together so motley a troop of fighting men as composed a crusading army, and he found it impossible to form the siege of Jerusalem, from which he had to retreat. Philip of France, on the plea of ill health, had already gone home, and when Richard heard that he was planning with John an attack upon his dominions, he also set off home with a few followers. Unfortunately, Richard was wrecked in the Adriatic, and, while trying to make his way home by land, was recognized, and fell into the hands of his personal enemy, Leopold, Duke of Austria, who handed him over to the emperor, Henry VI.

Richard's captivity.

As soon as Richard's captivity was known, John did homage to Philip for Normandy; but Eleanor, Richard's mother

and the chief English ministers, made the greatest exertions to secure their king's release, which was at length effected, at the cost of one hundred thousand pounds paid to the emperor.

Richard's return to England.

In 1194 Richard was at liberty and came back to England. He raised more money by sale and extortion, while, to secure himself against being thought to have lost dignity by his imprisonment, he was crowned a second time. He then left England, after a visit of two months, and spent the remainder of his life in making war upon Philip of France and his rebellious vassals, though he kept on comparatively good terms with his brother John.

Rebellion of William Fitz-Osbert.

Resistance to taxation.

The exactions which Hubert Walter had to make to supply the king with money for these wars caused a great deal of discontent, and in 1195 the poorer citizens of London, complaining that they had to pay too large a share of the taxes due from the city, broke out into rebellion under William Fitz-Osbert, but were easily crushed. In 1198 Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, was successful in refusing to pay money to support the war in France, which is the first real instance of successful resistance to taxation. The same year Hubert Walter retired, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter became justiciar.

Richard's death. Importance of the reign.

A year later Richard himself was killed while besieging the castle of a petty knight, who was the possessor of some treasure to which Richard thought he had a claim. Richard's reign of ten years, of which but a twentieth part was spent in England, was very useful to the nation, because it gave time for the legal and administrative reforms of Henry II. to get into working order, and to take a firm hold upon the country. Richard was extolled as the ideal of a feudal knight. He was certainly brave, but his selfishness, cruelty, and vanity deprive him of all claim to respect.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN, 1199–1216 (17 years).

Born 1167; married, { 1189, Hadwisa of Gloucester (divorced). 1200, Isabella of Angoulême.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Hubert Walter, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Stephen Langton, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and Peter des Roches.

Election of John.

WHEN Richard was dead there were two candidates for the crown of England. One was Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, Richard's next brother, who had died in 1186; the other was John, the youngest son of Henry II. Philip of France was expected to support Arthur, and to his court Arthur fled; but Philip at that moment was quarrelling with the pope about a wife that he wished to put away, and could give him no active assistance. The throne, therefore, fell to John. In France no one worked harder for him than his mother Eleanor, who wished to keep together all the dominions over which she and Henry II. had ruled, and for that reason always supported that one of her sons who she thought was most likely to effect this. In England he had the support of Archbishop Hubert, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the old ministers of Richard, and of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. These statesmen held a meeting of the chief men at Nottingham, where John was chosen king, the uncle of full age being preferred, according to the old English practice, to the nephew who was a minor. After a solemn admonition from the archbishop, John was crowned, and made Hubert his first Chancellor. After a very slight effort on his behalf Philip gave up the claims of Arthur, and made peace with John, while he compelled Arthur as Duke of Brittany to do homage to John.

John might now have enjoyed an honourable and prosperous

reign; but his character was so bad, and his imprudence led him to act so foolishly, that he not only lost for England most of her continental possessions, but only saved himself by dying from losing his crown.

John's prospects.

John's first mistake was to divorce his wife, Hadwisa of Gloucester, who was related to some of the strongest of the English barons, and then to marry Isabella of Angoulême, who was betrothed to the Earl of March, one of the most powerful of the nobles of France. In this way he contrived to irritate against himself the nobility both of his English and Continental dominions.

Divorce and re-marriage of John.

This quarrel led him to oppress some of the nobles of Poitou; they in due form appealed to their feudal superior, the King of France, and Philip summoned John to Paris to be tried by his peers. John refused to go, and Philip and Arthur attacked his dominions. In the war, while Arthur was besieging his grandmother Eleanor, in the castle of Mirabel, he was captured by John, and then all trace of him was lost. John was held responsible for his death, and the French king again summoned John to Paris to be tried for this new offence. Again John refused to go, and Philip seized the occasion to attack Normandy. John was too lazy to bestir himself. The result of the fighting was that Philip completely conquered all the strong places in Maine, Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine. This did good, as it compelled the barons to throw in their lot with other Englishmen. Hitherto they had been neither French nor English.

War with Philip and Arthur.

Loss of Maine, Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine.

The next year, 1205, John lost another of his supporters by the death of Hubert Walter, which involved him in a quarrel with the pope.

Death of Eleanor and of Hubert Walter.

There were two parties who claimed to elect the Archbishop of Canterbury—the monks of the ancient monastery of Canterbury, and the suffragan bishops of the province. In this instance the monks were divided among themselves, for the younger monks named Reginald, their sub-prior, and sent him to Rome to obtain his pallium from the pope. Reginald was told to go as quietly as possible; but, on reaching the Continent, he assumed all the state of an archbishop-elect, and, the secret being out, the

Election of an archbishop.

elder monks then chose John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who had been suggested by the king. A deputation of the elder monks then went to Rome to press the claims of De Grey, while the suffragan bishops (*i.e.* those bishops who belonged to the province of Canterbury) put in a claim to have a voice in the election. The Pope, Innocent III., set aside both elections, and persuaded the electors to agree upon Stephen Langton, an Englishman at the papal court, who had distinguished himself in many ecclesiastical capacities.

This threw John into a rage, and he refused to receive Langton. The pope replied by putting the country under an interdict, which forbade services to be held in the churches, and only allowed them to be held in the chapels of the Knights Templars. John cared little about the interdict, and retaliated by attacking the Church property, and even chose this as the best moment to march to the north and receive, from the King of Scots, such homage as was received before the treaty of Falaise.

Country put under an interdict.

Finding John obdurate, the pope excommunicated him in person, and in revenge John seized the property of the bishops. The pope's next step was to depose John, and call on Philip to do the work of deposing him. This was no empty threat; for the Welsh, taking advantage of the pope's permission, made a raid on the border counties, and Philip collected a fleet and army to invade the southern coast in 1211.

John excommunicated.

It was clear to John that, unless he could divide his enemies, he would be lost, so he determined to make the pope his friend, and by an artful movement put himself on the same side as the wielder of excommunication. The price the pope demanded was high, but John did not shrink, and he actually, in 1213, agreed to hold England as a fief of the papacy, and to pay the pope a thousand marks a year, as an acknowledgment of his position.

John wins the pope to his side.

The success of this move was apparently great. The pope withdrew his sentence of deposition, and forbade Philip to continue the enterprise, while the English fleet put to sea, and inflicted a severe defeat on the French at Damme. Elated by his success, John determined to invade France; but his barons refused to follow him while the conditions of

Invasion of France planned.

his treaty with the pope were unfulfilled. At this moment Geoffrey Fitz-Peter died, and was succeeded as justiciar by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin.

When John had been freed from his sentence of excommunication the barons again refused to follow him to France, on the plea that their term of service was expired, and while John was away they held a series of meetings, at one of which Langton, who, contrary to the expectation of the pope, was taking the side of the barons, read to them the charter of Henry I., and they determined to demand something of the kind from John.

Barons determine to demand a charter.

Meanwhile John was fighting in Poitou; but the real seat of war was Flanders, where Otto, John's nephew, the emperor, William Earl of Salisbury, John's half-brother, and the Count of Flanders were advancing against Philip. The forces of the allies, however, suffered a complete defeat at the battle of Bouvines, 1214, which completely shattered John's hopes of revenging himself on Philip, and forced him to return home to face the anger of his barons.

War in Poitou and Flanders.

Ruin of John's plans by the battle of Bouvines.

He found the barons determined to demand their rights; and, indeed, they had bound themselves with a solemn oath to levy war upon the king till they were successful. John put them off with a promise to answer their demands at Easter, and meanwhile he did what he could to strengthen himself for the struggle. He fortified his castles; brought over foreign mercenaries from Poitou and Flanders; made a desperate effort to win back Langton and the clergy, by granting freedom of election to episcopal sees and monasteries; demanded an oath of allegiance from every freeman throughout England; and put himself under the especial protection of the Church, by taking the cross as a Crusader. The barons, however, were too strong for him. Mustering their forces in the midlands, they marched to London, and were well received by the citizens. John found himself deserted on all sides, and, brought to bay at last, was obliged, at Runnymede, to agree to the demands of the barons on June 15, 1215.

John prepares to resist the barons.

Fortifies castles.

Hires mercenaries.

Grants freedom of election to the clergy.

Demands an oath of allegiance.

John's defeat.

The demands of the barons, to which John now gave his assent, form the Great Charter. This document contains a large number of clauses, and deals with the Church, the baronage, the collection of aids and scutages, the administration of justice, purveyance,[1] trade, and a variety of other points, some of permanent and some of only temporary interest. The most important of John's concessions were these:—

Magna Carta.

The Church was secured in the enjoyment of all its rights, including John's concession of free election.

The Church.

The feudal dues of the barons were fixed at a regular rate, in proportion to the land held, and the rights of wardship and marriage were made less galling. No aids or scutages were to be collected by the king from the tenants-in-chief except the three ordinary ones (to ransom the lord's body, for the knighting of his eldest son, and for the first marriage of his eldest daughter). Any other aids or scutages were to be voted by a council of prelates and greater barons, summoned separately, and of lesser barons and tenants-in-chief, summoned by writ, addressed to the sheriff in the county court.

The barons. Aids and scutages. Feudal dues.

Great council of feudal tenants.

As we have seen, the higher courts of the country were developed from the Curia Regis. This court went with the king wherever he might happen to go, and this was a great source of trouble to the suitors, who might have to travel from one end of England to another before their case had been heard. To remedy this, it was arranged that the Court of Common Pleas was to stay at a certain fixed place. This place was Westminster, where lay one of the king's chief palaces. It was also settled that the justices in eyre were to make their circuits four times a year, so that suitors should not be kept waiting. The king promised that he would not sell, refuse, or defer right or justice to any one. More than all, that no freeman was to be imprisoned, outlawed, punished, or molested, except by the judgment of his equals or

Justice. Court of Common Pleas fixed.

Justices in eyre.

Justice not to be delayed or sold.

No freeman to be punished without trial by jury or trial by battle.

[1] Purveyance was the right which the king exercised of providing for his household on a journey. This was done by forcing people to sell what the king wanted at nominal prices.

by the law of the land, *i.e.* by the decision of a jury, by trial by battle, or by ordeal.

Purveyance reformed.

An attempt was made to get rid of abuses in the system of purveyance, but as the king still retained the right of pre-emption, that is of buying a thing if he needed it, there was plenty of room left for abuse.

Merchants.

Merchants were to come and go freely in the kingdom—there were to be no passports; and, finally, the barons and clergy agreed that every liberty which the king had granted to his tenants should be observed by them to theirs.

John's attempt to annul the Charter.

No sooner was the Charter agreed to than John set about freeing himself from his oath. For this purpose he trusted to the assistance of the pope, while, to prepare himself for a new campaign, he began to hire fresh mercenaries abroad. Innocent did not disappoint him, but took his side with vigour, threatened to excommunicate the barons for levying war upon a Crusader, and for exacting concessions detrimental to the honour of the Holy See, and finally suspended Langton from the exercise of his functions. Meanwhile John was harrying the estates of the barons with fire and sword, and he crossed the border to ravage Scotland, whose young king Alexander had taken the side of the barons. The atrocities of John's foreign mercenaries were terrible; they turned the country through which they passed into a desert.

Barons call on Louis of France.

At last the barons determined to offer the crown to the eldest son of Philip of France, Louis, and his wife Blanche of Castile, granddaughter of Henry II. Louis accepted the crown, and, landing at Sandwich, marched on London, where he was received with enthusiasm by the barons. The young prince made a very good impression, and won popularity by making Simon Langton, the brother of the archbishop, his chancellor, and the King of Scots came to Dover to do him homage.

John's misfortunes and death.

Meanwhile John and his mercenaries marched north and captured Lincoln and Lynn; but, in returning to Lincolnshire, John had the misfortune to lose all the baggage of his army, containing his jewels and money, which were swallowed up by the tide while crossing the Wash. That night he fell into a fever, and with difficulty reached Newark, where he died, on October 19, 1216.

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY III., 1216–1272 (56 years).

Born 1207; married, 1236, Eleanor of Provence.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Stephen Langton, William Marshall, Hubert de Burgh, Falkes de Breauté, Peter des Roches, Richard Earl of Cornwall, Robert Grossetête, Simon de Montfort, and Gilbert Earl of Gloucester.

Prospects of Henry.

AT the moment when John died, Louis of France appeared to have every chance of winning the kingdom; he was supported by the most powerful of the barons, and had received the homage of the King of Scotland and the Prince of Wales; but matters were changed by the death of the king. It had been John's character which had driven his subjects to rebel, while the innocence of the young king, now only in his tenth year, called for the protection of all loyal men. It took time, however, for a new royal party to be formed, and at first the supporters of the king were outnumbered by those of Louis.

The Council.

Henry's most powerful supporters were William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was made regent, Peter des Roches, and Gualo, the papal legate. These three represented, respectively, the English, the foreign supporters of John, and the overlordship of the pope, and they formed a council to conduct the affairs of the young king.

Defeat of Louis at Lincoln and Sandwich.

The first thing to be done was to get rid of Louis; but the decisive battle was not fought till May, 1217, when Louis' forces were overthrown at a battle fought in the streets of Lincoln, which was commonly called Lincoln Fair. Louis still hoped to get assistance from France; but a fleet of eighty ships which was bringing it was defeated off Sandwich by Hubert de Burgh, who, though he only had forty vessels, managed

by a clever manœuvre to get to the windward of the French, and then his sailors grappled the ships of the enemy, while they threw quicklime in the eyes of the crews, and so completed their discomfiture. These two defeats secured the departure of Louis, and gave the regent time to take measures for the good government of the kingdom.

Magna Carta republished.

Magna Carta had already been published, but all the clauses of a temporary nature had been omitted, and also those about aids and scutages, and the summoning of the council of archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater and lesser barons.

New council of regency.

In 1219, William Marshall, the great Earl of Pembroke, died, and the government then fell into the hands of Peter des Roches, Pandulf the legate, and Hubert de Burgh.

Reforms of the regents.

The great object of the Government was to re-establish security for life and property, and remove the disorders which had been created by the struggle against John. The chief obstacles to their designs were the representatives of the turbulent barons of the Conquest, and the foreigners who had been brought into the country by John.

Turbulent nobles put down.

The leaders of these two classes were William of Aumâle, who was obliged to submit in 1221, and Falkes de Breauté. Falkes had been the leader of John's foreign mercenaries, he had become sheriff of six counties, and he was in possession of several strong castles. So lawless was he, that he actually imprisoned one of the king's judges because he had condemned him to pay damages at the assizes at Dunstable. But the capture of his castle of Bedford broke his power, and he was expelled from the country in 1224.

Papal exactions.

The early years of this reign were distinguished by the first attempt by the pope to raise a regular revenue from the clergy of England. Already he received one thousand marks a year as overlord; but, besides that, he wished to make the English clergy contribute to the support of his court, partly by making them pay a direct tax, partly by paying his servants by giving them livings in England. At first he tried to get both laity and clergy to pay. The laity, however, refused, but the clergy had to give up to the pope a tenth of their yearly income, and the first year's emoluments of all benefices. These sums were

called annates and firstfruits; the granting of livings was called provisors or provisions.

In 1227 Henry, who was then twenty, declared himself of age to govern, and continued Hubert de Burgh in the office of justiciar. This statesman ruled well; he was the last of the men who, like Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, had been trained in the system of Henry II. During four years of his rule Peter des Roches, his rival, was away on a crusade, but in 1231 he returned, and immediately begun to plot the fall of Hubert. The justiciar had many enemies, and he is said to have used his power to increase his own wealth; so Peter des Roches had little difficulty in forming a party against him, and won over the king to his views.

Henry comes of age. Ministry of Hubert de Burgh.

Henry, like many weak persons, was unscrupulous when roused, so he attacked Hubert with fury, flung him into prison, and stripped him of his wealth and offices; and when the prisoner escaped and took sanctuary in a church, he had a moat dug round it and starved Hubert into surrender. The fall of Hubert de Burgh took place in 1232; he was the last of the great justiciars who had acted as the king's chief ministers since the time of William Rufus. After his time the Chancellor (see note, p. 56) became the most important of the king's officers.

Fall of Hubert.

After Hubert's fall Henry took the conduct of affairs into his own hands, and twenty-six years of bad government followed. A considerable change had come over the state of affairs since the death of John. William the Conqueror and Henry II. had found a great source of their power in their wealth, which arose partly from the large number of manors in the king's hands, and partly because they had been practically able to levy aids and scutages at will. The extravagance of Richard and John, however, had stripped the crown of a large part of its possessions, while, although the clauses about aids and scutages had been omitted when the Great Charter was republished, the king had found it in practice impossible to levy these taxes without the consent of his tenants. Hence the king was continually pressed for money, and there were special causes in Henry's case which produced a constant drain upon his lightened purse.

Henry's government.

Poverty of the king.

In the first place, Peter des Roches was surrounded by a group of Poitevins who obtained offices from Henry through the influence of their fellow-countryman. The favour shown to the Poitevins instantly caused the nobles to form an opposition, at the head of which was Richard Marshall, the second son of the late regent, who, unhappily, was soon killed in Ireland by treachery. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, then took the lead, and matters had come to the point of civil war when the dismissal of Peter des Roches and his friends removed the grievance of the barons.

Greediness of foreign favourites.

Poitevins.

Unfortunately, the Poitevins were not the only persons who thought they had a claim to Henry's bounty; in 1236 the king married Eleanor of Provence, and her uncles, William of Valence, Boniface of Savoy, and Peter of Savoy, arrived in England with a troop of Provençals, and soon obtained as large a share of the revenue as the Poitevins had done. Then Isabella of Angoulême, Henry's mother, who had married Hugh de la Marche and had a numerous family, sent over Henry's half-brothers, including another William of Valence, to push their fortunes in England, and brought with them another body of Poitevins.

Provençals.

Half-brothers of the king.

Lastly, Henry was in debt to the pope. The pope had been continually pushing his claims to money, and making provisions for his dependents. The man who made the greatest resistance was Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln; but he could do little to stop the provisions, while Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, who became archbishop in 1241, did nothing to help. In 1237, Cardinal Otho, in spite of the irritation of the clergy and people, came over to England and collected vast sums for the papal treasury. At the Council of Lyons, in 1245, the English complained that sixty thousand marks a year went into the hands of the pope and the foreign clergy.

Debts to the pope.

Exactions of the Papacy.

These sums had been exacted from the clergy and people; but in 1254 the pope, who had been warring in Italy against the descendants of the Emperor Frederick, who had married Henry's sister, offered the crown of Sicily which had been part of the dominions of that monarch, to Richard, Henry's brother. He refused it, and it was accepted

Henry accepts the crown of Sicily for his son, and incurs further debts.

for Edmund, the king's second son, then nine years old. Henry had no money to pay an army to go to Sicily, so the pope entered upon the war himself, and put down all the expenses to Henry's account; consequently, by 1257, Henry's debt to the pope amounted to 135,000 marks.

Meanwhile in other respects Henry's government had been unsuccessful; in 1242 he had been led by his mother to make an expedition to Gascony in support of his stepfather. This adventure cost him a large sum, and only resulted in the battles of Taillebourg and Saintes, in which the balance was certainly on the side of the French king, and the arrival in England of a fresh batch of Poitevins, who came back with Henry in 1243.

Useless expeditions to France.

Moreover, Henry's rule in England had been hopelessly weak, and on one occasion a number of his own servants were convicted of highway robbery, to which they had been driven by the arrears into which their salaries had fallen.

Weakness of Henry's rule.

It must not be supposed that this state of things had been viewed with indifference by the country. In 1244 the earls, barons, and bishops had demanded control over the appointment of ministers, and in 1255 the same demand was renewed by Parliament, as the great council of the nation had now begun to be called. It was refused, but the demand showed that the opposition had realized the right way to influence the king's policy, and were slowly feeling their way towards making the ministers responsible to the nation.

An opposition.

At length the barons found a leader against the foreigners, in the person of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. Simon was himself a foreigner. He was the second son of another Simon de Montfort, who had led the Crusade against the Albigenses, but when his father died the elder son succeeded him, and Simon came over to England to try and get the earldom of Leicester, to which his mother, being the sister of the late earl, had a claim. This claim was admitted by Henry III., who received de Montfort at court; and de Montfort's next step was to marry Eleanor, the sister of Henry, and widow of William Marshall, eldest son of the regent. From 1248 to 1253 the Earl of Leicester acted as

Rise of Simon de Montfort.

His arrival in England.

Marriage with Henry's sister.

governor of Gascony, where he gained much experience, but acquired a character for severity, and he was unjustly charged by his subjects with peculation, tyranny, and cruelty. The result was a quarrel with Henry, and de Montfort left England for some time.

On his return he was reconciled to Henry, but in 1257 he quarrelled with William of Valence, the king's half-brother, and took the leadership of the opposition. The time was very favourable for attacking Henry's government. The king's younger brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, had just gone to Germany, where he had been elected King of the Romans. Henry was desperately in debt, and the Parliament of 1258, often called the Mad Parliament of Oxford, under the lead of Simon de Montfort and Richard Earl of Gloucester, took upon itself to reform the administration.

Takes the lead of the opposition.

The plan they adopted was to take the government out of the hands of Henry and hand it over to a committee of twenty-four persons, who were to reform all grievances in Church and State. Besides this committee, another body of fifteen were to act for the future as council to the king; and these two bodies were to hold three conferences a year. For the reform of the country the committee ordained that sheriffs should be chosen annually by vote, and that the sheriffs, treasurer, chancellor, and justiciar should give in their accounts once a year.

Provisions of Oxford.

By a threat of resuming the lands which had been granted by Henry out of the estates of the crown, his half-brothers were terrified into flight, and with them departed the great body of foreigners, partiality for whom had been in the eyes of his subjects Henry's worst crime.

Flight of the foreigners.

The government of the council really lasted from 1258 to 1264. Henry had taken an oath to accept the provisions, but he asked the pope as his overlord to absolve him from it, and the pope did so. Henry and his barons could come to no terms; and, in 1263, Henry appealed to Louis IX. of France to arbitrate between him and his subjects. Louis was an excellent sovereign, but knew nothing about the merits of the case, so at Amiens he gave a decision in favour of Henry. This decision is generally called the "Mise of Amiens."

Henry accepts the provisions, but is freed from his promise by the pope.

Arbitration of St. Louis.

Open war now broke out between the king and the barons. As a rule, the north, with Devon and Cornwall, *i.e.* the poorer districts, were for Henry; the Midlands were divided; the South, Cinque Ports, and London, *i.e.* the wealthy parts of the country, were warmly for Simon de Montfort. The Mortimers on the Welsh border were for the king, Llewelyn Prince of Wales was for de Montfort. In 1264 was fought the battle of Lewes, in which the king and Prince Edward, his eldest son, were defeated, and gave themselves up by a treaty called the "Mise of Lewes." The government now fell into the hands of de Montfort and Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, son of the earl mentioned above, and they summoned the celebrated Parliament of 1265.

War between the king and the barons.

Battle of Lewes.

We saw that at the Conquest the place of the witena-gemot had been taken by the great council. This body contained the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, earls, and greater and lesser barons. On very great occasions all of these assembled, but as a rule only the greater men attended its meetings. Magna Carta, in arranging for the calling of an assembly to vote scutages and extra aids, had provided that the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons only, were to be summoned by writs sent to each separately, while the lesser barons were to be summoned by a general writ, sent to the sheriff in the county court.

The Magnum Concilium.

It was not to be expected that many would take advantage of such a general summons, so the next step was to send, as the representatives of the lower barons, persons elected in the county court. Such representatives were first summoned to a Parliament in 1254, and in 1265 two knights from each shire were summoned.

Representatives chosen for the shires.

Though the chartered towns took some part in the election of the knights of the shire, this was not felt to be enough; and as their good will was very important, de Montfort and his friends called upon the principal cities and boroughs to send each two representatives, so that this Parliament of 1265 was the first Parliament which contained, together with the archbishops, bishops, mitred abbots, earls, and greater barons, representatives from counties, cities, and boroughs.

Representatives chosen for the cities and boroughs.

Parliament of 1265.

However, the rule of Simon de Montfort did not last long. A quarrel arose between him and the Earl of Gloucester, and the king's eldest son Edward took advantage of it to escape, joined the Mortimers, and got together an army. Simon de Montfort marched to Wales, but Edward defeated one of his sons at Kenilworth, and then hemmed in de Montfort himself in the corner made by the Severn and the Avon, and defeated him at the battle of Evesham on the latter river. In this battle Simon de Montfort was killed, and the attempt of the barons to control the government came to an end.

Fall of Simon de Montfort.

Happily Edward was a very different man from his father, and had learnt a great deal from the struggle in which he had been engaged. It was due to him that what was good in de Montfort's arrangements was preserved. To all appearances Simon de Montfort's rebellion was a failure, but it led to three great results. First, after it we hear of no more inroads of foreign favourites; second, it marks the end of the pope's interference in England as overlord; and third, it gave people an ideal to aim at; and from this time forward, a Parliament representing the whole nation, to which the king's ministers should be responsible, was the ideal at which the statesman of this country aimed.

Results of de Montfort's rebellion.

After some fighting at Kenilworth and Ely, the country settled down again; indeed, the latter years of the reign of Henry III. seem to have been years of unusual prosperity, and in 1270 the times were so settled, that Prince Edward went on a Crusade, and while he was away his father died, in 1272. Henry III. was a weak king; he had the misfortune to ascend the throne when a child; he inherited from his father a detestation of the Great Charter and its principles, and allowed himself too easily to fall into the hands of foreigners, who had no other object than the satisfaction of their own ambition.

Close of the reign.

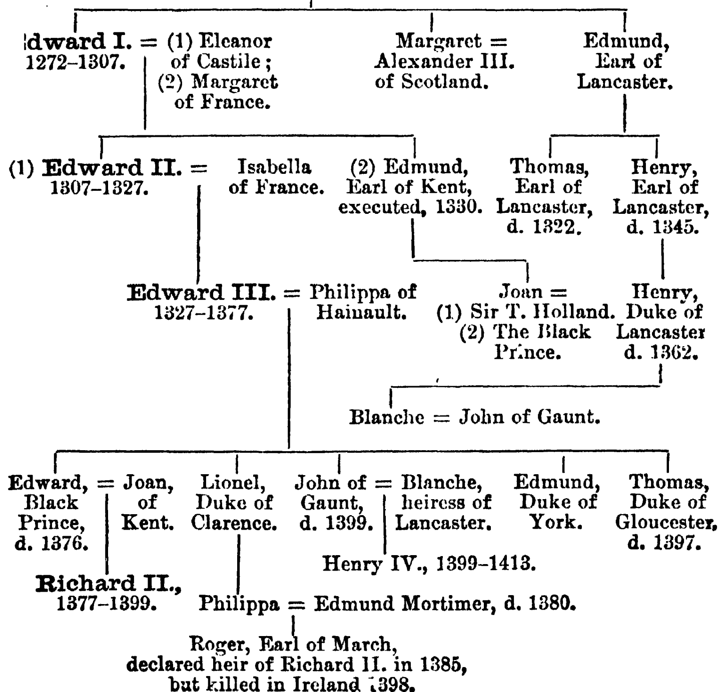
Henry's character.

For chief general events, and the battles and sieges of the earlier Angevin kings, see pp. 132 and 133.

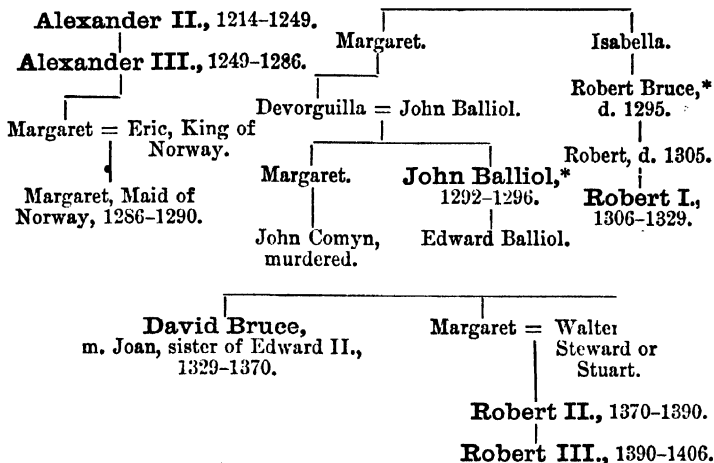
BOOK IV

THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS, SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS

VIII.—THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS, SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS, 1272–1399.

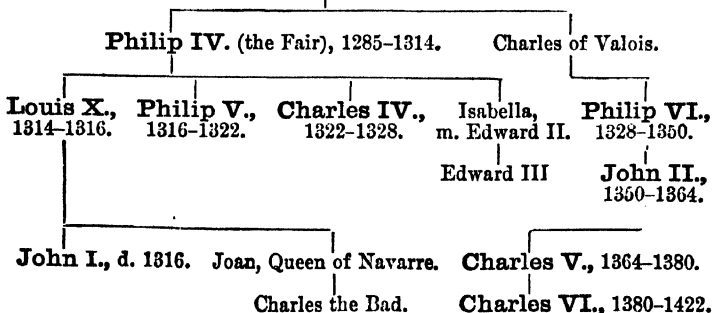


IX.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1165 AND 1406.



* Competitors for the crown in 1292.

X.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE BETWEEN 1270 AND 1422, AND CLAIM OF EDWARD III. TO THE FRENCH CROWN.



CHAPTER I.

Edward I., 1272–1307 (35 years).

Born 1239; married { 1254, Eleanor of Castile. 1299, Margaret of France. }

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Llewelyn Prince of Wales, John Balliol, Robert Bruce (elder and younger), William Wallace, John Comyn, Earl Warrenne, Humphrey Bohun, and Roger Bigod.

Accession of Edward.

The heir to the throne being abroad, the government was carried on by the Archbishop of York and the Chancellor Walter of Merton. They had allegiance sworn to Edward in his absence by the great men, so that his reign is the first which dates from the death of the last king; former kings had always counted from their coronation.

Commercial treaty with Flanders.

By leisurely steps Edward returned to England, and spent some time in Italy, France, and Guienne before he crossed the Channel. Always fond of martial pursuits, he engaged in a tournament at Châlon, in the Duchy of Burgundy, which ended in a deadly combat, in which many lives were lost, but from which Edward came out victorious. More important than this feat of arms was the treaty he made with the Count of Flanders, by which the wool trade between England and the Netherlands, which had been interrupted, was renewed. England was the greatest wool-growing country of the west of Europe, so this trade was of the utmost importance, and from this time the alliance between England and Flanders was regarded as being of the greatest consequence to both nations.

Comparison of Edward with Henry II.

Edward reached England in 1274, and his activity during the thirty-three years of his reign will compare with that of any other English monarch. In some ways he resembled his great-grandfather, Henry II. He had the same energy and regard for order; but he had the advantage of not being

hampered by large possessions on the Continent, so that he was able to devote himself freely to further the interests of England. Two objects presented themselves to his mind; first, to reduce to thorough efficiency the government of England, and secondly, to unite under one sceptre the whole of the British Isles. The former he was able to pursue from the beginning of his reign; the latter only opened itself to him as time went on.

Constitutional government of Edward.

In dealing with the administration Henry II. had to force all his reforms on the country in the teeth of his barons; Edward was able to use his barons to help him in ordering the country. This he did by means of Parliament. Edward was the first king who used Parliament as a means of government. His predecessors had looked on this assembly as diminishing their power, or at best as a means of getting money; Edward took it into his confidence, and gained its aid.

Great statutes of the reign.

Statute of Mortmain.

Among the many Statutes of this reign the following are to be remembered. First, the Statute of Mortmain. Mortmain means "dead hand," and when land was owned by a body of men and not by an individual, it was said in Roman law to be held in *mortuâ manu*, *i.e.* in mortmain, or dead hand. Land held by the Church was said to be in mortmain. Now, people disliked land being acquired by the clergy, for many thought they had more than was good for them already; and, moreover, land in mortmain escaped some of the feudal services and payments, such as reliefs and wardship and marriage. It was not easy to prevent the Church from acquiring land, because the clergy used to persuade men when dying to leave property to the Church, so that their souls might be prayed for when they were dead. Many persons also made sham grants of their land to the Church, and received it back as tenants on easy terms, thus defrauding the revenue. Accordingly, the Parliament of 1279 passed a very strict law to forbid land being given to the clergy without the consent of the king.

Statute of Winchester.

Next is the Statute of Winchester. This statute dealt with the defence of the country, and was founded upon the assize of arms which had been issued by Henry II. in 1181. It must be considered together with an order about knighthood, which was issued in 1278. By this, all persons who

owned land to the value of twenty pounds a year were ordered to be knighted, and such knights were always expected to serve the king, either in person or by deputy, when he called for their services. All other freeholders were ordered to have arms suitable to their wealth, and these were inspected at regular intervals. By this means the country was provided with an efficient defensive force.

Quia Emptores.

The third statute is that of Quia Emptores. This struck a stout blow at the power of the great barons, by preventing them from granting out portions of their estates to be held as sub-tenancies. Such portions were always to be held from the superior lord, and as the king was the superior lord of all the great barons, this statute added largely to his power.

Entails.

Another statute affecting land was that of De Donis Conditionalibus, which enacted that when an estate was granted to a man and his heirs, the holder of the property, being only a life-tenant, could not part with it. Such estates were said to be entailed, and the passage of this act was a most important event in the history of English land tenure.

Regulation of the law courts.

Besides passing these important statutes, Edward also further regulated the law courts, and, in the year 1300, arranged by the Articuli Super Cartas that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench were still to follow the king, but the Exchequer Court was to remain at Westminster, as the Court of Common Pleas had done since the granting of the Great Charter. During this reign the lawyers became very important, and statutes or decisions which date from the reign of Edward I. are enforced at the present day, unless they have been especially set aside. A familiar institution, that of Justices of the Peace, dates from the same period. These officers were first appointed to carry out the Statute of Winchester, and were then called conservators of the peace. They got their present title in the time of Edward III.

The Jews in England.

Another event of the reign of the first Edward was the expulsion of the Jews from England. In the Middle Ages the Jews alone let out money at interest, because usury was forbidden to Christians by the Church. Their rates were very high, as was natural when there were few lenders and many borrowers, and when the times were insecure, and they

made the Jews very unpopular. The Jews, however, were under the protection of the king, who regarded them as his chattels, kept a register of their loans, and helped to enforce repayment. For these advantages he made them pay heavily, by exacting an annual poll-tax of threepence on every Jew above fourteen years of age, and by taxing them whenever he wanted money.

The Jewries.

The Jews always lived together in special quarters, To preserve them from attacks they were obliged to be indoors at a certain time and the gates of the Jewry were kept locked at night. They also wore a badge to distinguish them from Christians. The hatred against them grew in the thirteenth century because they constantly sold up the lands of their debtors, which then passed into the hands of the large proprietors. At last they were accused of clipping the coin of the realm, Edward found it impossible to support them any longer, and they were all ordered to leave England in the year 1290.

Their expulsion.

It was not till long afterwards that they were allowed to live openly in England. The expulsion of the Jews added to the power of Parliament, as it deprived the king of a large source of income.

The most interesting events of the reign are those which are connected with Edward's attempts to annex Wales and Scotland. Circumstances gave him opportunities of interfering in both countries, of which he was not slow to avail himself; but Edward cannot be accused in either case of entering upon a war of wanton aggression.

Attempt to annex Wales and Scotland.

During the troubles of the previous reign, Llewelyn Prince of Wales had taken the side of the barons, and had managed to assume greater importance than his predecessors. He still wished to play the same part, and proposed to marry the daughter of Simon de Montfort. This put Edward on his guard, and when Llewelyn put off doing homage again and again, the king detained the young lady, and invaded the country in 1277.

Llewelyn Prince of Wales.

The Welsh made a vigorous resistance, but were hemmed in among the barren mountains of Snowdon, and forced to come to terms. Llewelyn was allowed to marry his intended bride, but only to keep as his principality Anglesea and the district of Snowdon. For three years the Welsh were quiet,

Wars with Wales.

but in 1282, David, Llewelyn's brother, who had hitherto been on the English side, and been most kindly treated by Edward, made an unprovoked attack on Hawarden Castle. The prince, his brother, joined the rising and went to the south, while David endeavoured to defend the north. Llewelyn, however, met his death at the hands of a single knight during a skirmish on the Wye, and David, having fallen into the hands of the English, was condemned, by an assembly of lay barons and members for the towns and counties, to suffer a traitor's death.

Death of Llewelyn.

After the fall of these leaders Edward annexed the country, and his son Edward, who happened to be born at Carnarvon during the king's residence in Wales, was the next Prince of Wales. Edward is said to have won the favour of the Welsh by telling them that he would give them a prince who could not speak a word of English; but he took effective measures to secure order, by dividing Wales into counties and hundreds, and introducing the English law and administration of justice, while he tried to win the Welsh from their rude pastoral life by granting charters to towns, and giving encouragement to trade and commerce.

Annexation and settlement of Wales.

In Scotland Edward was less successful. As we have seen from time to time, the English kings since the days of Edward the Elder had held some sort of superiority over the Scottish monarchs, but what these rights were was uncertain, and since Richard I. had surrendered the terms exacted by Henry II. from William the Lion, this uncertainty had increased. The present King of Scots, Alexander III., had done homage to Edward, but for his English fiefs alone, and not for his kingdom.

Relation between England and Scotland.

It happened, however, that all Alexander's children died within a short time of one another, and one only, a daughter who had married the King of Norway, left behind her a child. Alexander himself was killed by an accident in 1286, and his grand-daughter became the heir to the throne. In these events Edward saw the means of bringing about the union between the crowns of England and Scotland, and he persuaded the Scots to consent to a marriage between their little queen and his son, the new Prince of Wales. Unhappily, the Maid of Norway, as she was called, died at the

Marriage arranged between the Prince of Wales and the heiress of Scotland.

Orkneys on her voyage to Scotland, so this plan fell to the ground. But her death only caused a new difficulty, for a number of claimants to the crown at once appeared; but it was agreed, as was usual in the case of a fief, to submit their claims to Edward as the superior lord. Edward agreed, and after securing the acknowledgment of his superiority, proceeded to consider the case.

Of the competitors only two had any real claim. These were John Balliol, the grandson of Margaret, niece of William the Lion, and Robert Bruce (the elder), son of Isabella, Margaret's younger sister. Edward allowed Balliol and Bruce each to choose forty Scots; to these he added twenty-four English, and to this body the question who was the rightful king was put. Of course they decided for Balliol, whose claims were incontestably the stronger; and he, after swearing allegiance to Edward in the strongest terms, received the crown.

Disputed succession referred to Edward.

It was one of the points in the feudal law that if any tenant felt aggrieved by a decision in the court of his lord, he had a right to appeal to the court of the superior lord. In accordance with this right, which had certainly never been thought of when Constantine, King of Scots, commended himself to Edward the Elder, some of Balliol's subjects appealed to the English law courts; and Balliol was summoned to defend his decision, which he might do, if he chose, by deputy. This was galling to Balliol, who, however, seems to have been in the hands of his barons, and to have had little power.

New difficulties as to the feudal rights of Edward.

Meanwhile a difficulty had arisen in France, where Edward himself, as Duke of Guienne, was a vassal of the French king. A Norman sailor had chanced to be murdered by an Englishman, and the Normans, in revenge, seized a passenger in an English ship and hung him topmast high, with a dog at his feet. The result was a series of fights between the merchantmen of the two nations, in which the French got the worst. The fight soon spread to the land, and then the French king called upon Edward to answer for the conduct of his subjects. Edmund, the king's brother, went as his representative, and allowed himself to be gulled by the Frenchmen into surrendering the castles of Gascony for six weeks, on the promise that at the end of that time they should be restored. The promise

Difficulty about Guienne.

Edward summoned to Paris.

was not kept. The French allied with the Scots, and for the next four years France and England were at war; while, to add to Edward's difficulties, the Welsh in 1295 broke out in revolt.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Edward, in 1295, summoned what is known as the first complete and model Parliament.

Model Parliament summoned.

Clergy.

To this came, first, the spiritual peers, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the heads of the military orders. Each bishop was ordered to bring with him one representative elected by the dean and chapter of the cathedral, and two representatives from each diocese elected by the clergy.

Barons.

Knights of the shire.

Burgesses and citizens.

Second, the lay peers, earls and greater barons summoned separately by writ. Third, the knights of the shire, elected in accordance with a writ addressed to the sheriff in the county court, and two burgesses or citizens from each borough or city which the sheriff of the county thought to be of sufficient consequence to send representatives.

Important place of this Parliament in history.

Thirty years had passed since the citizens and burgesses had been called to Simon de Montfort's Parliament; but since 1295 most Parliaments have in theory included the whole of the lay members mentioned above. Of the clergy, however, the proctors for the chapters and archdeaconries rarely, if ever, came, as they preferred to make their grants in Convocation, while the abbots were abolished by Henry VIII.

Invasion of Scotland.

With the money granted by this Parliament Edward was able to act vigorously against his enemies. The Welsh were soon put down. The Earl Warrenne invaded Scotland, and a battle was fought in 1296 near Dunbar, where the Scots, descending in disorder from the slopes of the Lammermuir Hills, were overthrown on the plain by the English. Shortly afterwards Balliol surrendered his kingdom, and was allowed to retire to Normandy, while Edward appointed Earl Warrenne as guardian of the Scottish kingdom.

Invasion of France proposed, but foiled by Edward's unpopularity.

Edward next proposed to invade France, and for this purpose allied with the Flemings; but he soon met with an unforeseen difficulty. Pressed for money, he had not been scrupulous in his means of getting it, but had taxed the towns, seized the wool of the merchants,

ordered his servants to levy supplies by force, and wrung from the clergy one-half of their yearly income. These exactions caused great indignation, and resistance was soon made.

The first to stir were the clergy, who obtained from the pope a bull called *Clericis laicos*, which forbade them to grant their goods to a layman without the consent of the pope. Armed with this, they met the king's next demand with a refusal. Edward retaliated by ordering the chief justice to announce that no suit in which a clergyman was plaintiff should be heard, but that all against them should be tried as usual. This meant that the clergy might be robbed with impunity, and accordingly the clergy by degrees gave way, some making the king a gift, others leaving money where the king's officers could find it, and others paying large sums for protection. The archbishop, however, was still holding out, when help came from another quarter.

Clerical remonstrance and refusal to pay taxes.

Outlawry of the clergy

Victory of Edward.

Edward's plan was to attack France from Flanders in person, and to send an army to Guienne under Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the marshal. Roger, however, irritated by the exactions, refused to go, saying that he was only bound to follow the king's person. "By God," said the king, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, sir king, I will neither go nor hang," was the answer; and the earl kept his word. Edward had no time to press the quarrel, so he made terms with the clergy, summoned his tenants to London, persuaded them to grant him an aid, and then crossed to Flanders.

Refusal of nobles to invade France by themselves.

Edward goes to Flanders.

This was the barons' chance. They marched to London, forbade the collection of the aid, and insisted that the young Prince of Wales, who had been left as regent, should confirm the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest, at the same time adding a clause forbidding the collection of most kinds of taxes without the consent of Parliament. This document, which is called the "Confirmation of the Charters," was then signed by Edward at Ghent.

Rebellion of the barons.

Confirmation of the charters.

Meanwhile things had gone wrong in Scotland. A gentleman named William Wallace, who had murdered an Englishman, gathered round him a number of enemies to the English side, and, gradually becoming strong enough,

Rebellion of Wallace.

attacked the forces of the guardian. With great military skill he contrived to attack the English army at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, when half of it had crossed the Forth by a long and narrow bridge. Those who had crossed were utterly cut to pieces, and Warrenne had the mortification to see his army ruined.

Defeat of Cambuskenneth.

The next year, however, Edward himself invaded Scotland, and attacked Wallace at Falkirk. In spite of Wallace's most careful arrangement of his army, in circles of pikemen united by archers and backed by cavalry, Edward succeeded in beating the Scots by attacking their rear, and Wallace's power was completely overthrown.

Edward invades Scotland. Victory of Falkirk, and fall of Wallace.

The kingdom, however, was not yet conquered. The districts north of the Forth still held out, and placed at their head John Comyn, the nephew of Balliol. Comyn had some success in 1303, but Edward again invaded the country and forced him to submit. The insurgents were allowed to purchase their pardon by fines, and offers were even made to Wallace, but were rejected. Shortly afterwards that leader was captured, taken to London and executed as a traitor. His death made him the martyr of Scottish independence.

Comyn's rebellion.

Suppressed by Edward.

All this time Robert Bruce (the younger), Earl of Carrick, the grandson of the rival of Balliol, had usually been on the English side, and had been consulted by Edward about the management of the kingdom; but in 1306 he determined to try for the crown himself, murdered Comyn, and was crowned at Scone. His chances seemed very poor, as he had against him not only the English, but also the relations of Balliol and the Lord of Lorne. His forces in the field were soon defeated, and he with difficulty maintained himself in the woods and mountains. Though the danger did not seem great, Edward was preparing to crush it himself, when his death near Carlisle, in 1307, brought his reign to a close, and totally changed the prospects of the Scottish king.

Rebellion of Robert Bruce.

Death of Edward.

Edward was twice married, first to Eleanor of Castile, and then to Margaret, sister of the French king. He left three sons who survived him.

CHAPTER II.

Edward II., 1307–1327 (20 years).
Born 1284; Married, 1308, Isabella of France.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**Thomas of Lancaster, Piers Gaveston, Robert Bruce, Roger Mortimer; Hugh Despenser (father and son), and Adam Orleton.**

Character of Edward II.

Edward, Prince of Wales, who succeeded his father at the age of twenty-three, was handsome, accomplished, and engaging; but his reign was one of the most ruinous in English history. The chief causes of his misfortune were his love of pleasure and his attachment to favourites.

Meaning of the word "favourite."

The word "favourite" is one which may easily be misunderstood. It may mean a man or woman on whom a king lavishes honours and wealth, or it may mean a councillor on whose support the king relies. Favourites of both kinds were hateful to Englishmen of the Middle Ages; the former because the king's grants were rightly thought to increase the weight of taxation by impoverishing the royal estates, the latter because the nobles looked on themselves as the hereditary advisers of the crown, and hated any man who engrossed the king's confidence. No king, therefore, had a chance of success who was not strong enough to stand alone, and so men like Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI. met with their unfortunate ends. In England the leader of the barons against the favourite was always a younger member of the royal family.

Piers Gaveston.

The first of Edward's favourites was Piers Gaveston. Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight, and had been brought up as Edward's companion. He turned out so badly that the late king had dismissed him from court; but when the old king died the young Edward recalled him and made

him Earl of Cornwall. He was a brave and able soldier, but he was haughty and vain, and irritated the barons past bearing by the nicknames he gave them. To this man Edward gave his confidence, and loaded him with riches and honour, so that he, a mere upstart, outshone the ancient nobles of the realm.

Thomas of Lancaster, leader of the opposition.

Gaveston's antagonist was Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the son of Edmund Crouchback,[1] younger brother of Edward I. He was Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Derby, and was by far the most powerful subject the king had. This was the man whom Gaveston called "the hog." His friend, the Earl of Warwick, was "the black dog."

Edward's favour to Gaveston rouses the barons.

At his father's death Edward only advanced as far as Ayrshire, and then retired to England to arrange for his marriage and coronation. When he sailed to France, to marry Isabella, the daughter of the French king, said to be the most beautiful woman in Europe, he left Gaveston as regent, and at his coronation Gaveston walked in the place of honour. Enraged at this, the barons in Parliament demanded the dismissal of Gaveston. Edward had no means to resist, and Gaveston himself was forced to swear that he would never return to England. The king, however, appointed him Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and in 1309 he was ordered by the king, with the consent of a considerable part of the baronage, to come back to court.

Barons appoint the Lords Ordainers to conduct the government.

Meanwhile the disorders arose which always appeared when the king was too weak or too idle to make his power felt; and in 1310 the barons, determined to put a stop to these, came to Westminster in arms, and, following the lead of the Oxford Parliament of 1258, appointed a council of twenty-one bishops and barons, under the name of Lords Ordainers, to regulate the king's household and reform the abuses of the kingdom.

To keep out of the way of the ordainers, the king and Gaveston invaded Scotland, where Bruce was too wary to allow them to bring him to an engagement. In this expedition Gaveston distinguished himself; but the barons were determined to get rid of

[1] That is, crossback, or crusader. Cross Hill, near Banbury, is still called Crouch Hill.

him, and again insisted upon his banishment. This time he went to France and then to the Netherlands, but soon returned, and in 1312 the barons succeeded in separating him from the king, and forcing him to surrender at Scarborough. He was sent as far as Deddington, in Oxfordshire, under the care of the Earl of Pembroke, but was there seized by the soldiers of Guy, Earl of Warwick, and executed near Kenilworth, in the presence of Lancaster and Hereford. The saying, "If you let the fox go, you will have to hunt him again," decided his fate. Such murders had hitherto been almost unknown in England.

Death of Gaveston.

Edward, though heart-broken by the loss of his friend, was powerless to avenge his death, so he was forced for the time to pardon the barons, and then gave his attention to Scotland. It was high time that something should be done. Though Bruce had avoided a great battle, he had steadily been seizing castle after castle in the lowlands. Roxburgh and Edinburgh were already in his hands, and Stirling was closely besieged, when, in 1314, Edward prepared with a splendid army to invade Scotland.

Successes of Bruce.

His force would even have been stronger had not Lancaster and some of his friends unpatriotically refused to join the expedition. As it was, Edward with superior forces encountered Bruce near Bannockburn, under the walls of Stirling. The excellent dispositions of Bruce, who destroyed the English archers with a charge of cavalry, overbalanced the superior numbers. The English were defeated, and numbers of the fugitives were killed in their attempt to force their way through a hostile country.

Invasion of Scotland

Defeat at Bannockburn.

Encouraged by their success, the Scots helped the Irish in an attempt to overthrow the English rule, and for some time Edward Bruce, the younger brother of the Scottish king, seemed likely to become King of Ireland; but his death at the battle of Dundalk, in 1318, ruined the cause, and the surviving Scots returned home.

Irish insurrection helped by the Scots.

For a time the Scots had it all their own way on the border, captured Berwick, and defeated the English at Myton-on-Swale, and their presence kept the northern counties in constant apprehension, and threw back the rising prosperity of that part of the country.

Invasion of England by the Scots.

To add to the English misfortunes, the years 1315 and 1316 were times of famine; the crops failed, and prices were so high that many perished from hunger; bands of robbers traversed the country, and the nobles made matters worse by turning adrift the retainers who usually lived in their castles, and were fed and clothed at their expense.

Famine of 1314 and 1315.

The result of these disasters was to add to the power of the Earl of Lancaster, who was able to dismiss the king's officers and to bring his own friends into power. Among these was a young nobleman named Hugh Despenser, the son of a baron of the same name, and grandson of the justiciar of Simon de Montfort. He was made the king's chamberlain, and soon became as great a friend of the king as Gaveston had been. Though the Despensers were great English barons, the favour of the king soon made them unpopular with their fellows. Lancaster headed the attack on his former friend, and Parliament in 1321 demanded and secured the banishment of the Despensers.

Power of Lancaster and rise of the Despensers.

Owing, however, to an insult offered to the queen by one of the Lancastrian party, who refused her admission to Leeds Castle in Kent, a reaction took place in the king's favour; and when proofs were found that Lancaster had been corresponding with the Scots, Edward, in 1322, felt strong enough to attack the barons. Before the king's forces Lancaster and his friends retreated towards Scotland, but were intercepted at Boroughbridge on the Ure, by the governors of York and Carlisle. Hereford was slain, and the rest were forced to surrender. Lancaster, with many of his followers, were executed at Pontefract, to revenge the death of Gaveston; and Roger, Lord Mortimer, was imprisoned in the Tower.

Defeat of Lancaster at Boroughbridge, and fall of the barons.

After the fall of Lancaster, a Parliament met at York which laid down a most important principle, namely, that what concerns the whole realm must be treated of by a complete Parliament. This was intended to prevent the barons from taking power into their own hands, as they had done when they appointed the lords ordainers, but it really admitted the Commons to a share in legislation.

Commons gain a share in legislation.

The king now made another invasion of Scotland, but was unable

to bring the Scots to an engagement, while his army was starved by the devastation of the country. He was, therefore, obliged to retreat, and the Scots made an all but successful attempt to surprise him as he lay at Byland Abbey, in Yorkshire. In 1323 a truce was concluded with Scotland for thirteen years.

Fresh disasters in Scotland.

In 1325 a difficulty arose about Guienne, and Queen Isabella went to France to settle it. There she was joined by her son Edward, who came over to do homage for Guienne in his father's stead. At Paris also she met Mortimer, who had escaped from the Tower in 1324, and the two entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the Despensers. In spite of Edward's efforts, she and Mortimer, with the Prince of Wales, landed at Orwell in Suffolk, and were soon joined by the queen's friends and by the old followers of Lancaster.

Queen Isabella goes to Guienne and conspires with Mortimer.

The king, finding he could trust no one, fled with the Despensers to the west. Meanwhile, under the influence of Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, the plot had developed into one for the dethronement of Edward himself. The king made an attempt to escape by sea; but contrary winds drove him back, and at last, one after another, the two Despensers and Edward himself fell into the hands of the insurgents. The elder Despenser was executed at Bristol, the younger was hung at Hereford on a gallows fifty feet high.

Fate of Edward's friends.

Edward's fate was soon determined. He was left at Kenilworth, while a Parliament was summoned at Westminster, where Orleton asked the members whether they would have the father or the son for king. Shouts were raised for the son, and the Parliament then drew up articles of deposition, while a deputation, with Orleton at its head, was sent to Kenilworth to withdraw from the king the allegiance of his subjects. When this had been done, the lord chamberlain broke his rod of office, and the reign was considered at an end. Edward's person was intrusted to the keeping of his deadly enemies, and within a few months his murdered corpse was exposed to view at Berkeley Castle, near Bristol, and then quietly buried. The plea that he had died a natural death deceived no one.

Dethronement and death of Edward.

The reign of Edward II. saw the dissolution of the Knights

Templars. This order of military monks, with the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, and the German knights, arose out of the Crusades. When Palestine was lost, the Knights of St. John retired to Rhodes, which they fortified as a bulwark against the advancing Mahometans, while the German knights fought against the heathens who still lived along the shores of the Baltic. The Templars, on the contrary, gave up their work and lived in idleness, while their great wealth and military training made them formidable subjects. Accusations of ill-life and of heresy were brought against them, the order was dissolved by the pope in 1312, and most of their wealth went to the Knights of St. John.

During the thirteenth century the most popular order of religious persons was that of the Friars, of which the two chief branches were the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, founded by St. Francis in 1207, and the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded by St. Dominic in 1216. Unlike the monks with whom they were often at variance, the friars did not confine themselves in monasteries, but travelled about the country, preaching and devoting themselves to the care of the poor and the sick. Their devotion made them very popular, and many of the most saintly and learned men of the time joined their ranks, while their habit of preaching gained them great political influence, which as they were usually on the popular side was very important. Afterwards they grew lazy and sensual, and then they fell into ill-repute.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD III., 1327–1377 (50 years).
Born 1312; married, 1328, Philippa of Hainault.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Roger Mortimer, the Black Prince, John of Gaunt, Archbishop Stratford, Henry Earl of Lancaster, and his son Henry Duke of Lancaster, William of Wykeham, John Wycliffe, Lords Latimer and Neville, and Alice Perrers.

THE new king was in his fifteenth year when he ascended the throne. Henry, Earl of Lancaster, the younger brother of Earl Thomas, was the leading man in the king's standing council, but the chief power was in the hands of Isabella and Mortimer.

Invasion of the Scots.

The first difficulty was with Scotland. In spite of the truce, the Scots had invaded the north of England. Their army of horsemen was so rapid in its movements that it was hard to bring them to action, and when Edward had at length discovered their position, they avoided battle by a sudden retreat.

Peace with Scotland.

Happily for both countries, peace was soon afterwards concluded at Northampton, and the independence of Scotland was fully recognized. The next year Robert Bruce died, and was succeeded by his son David, who was the first of the Scottish kings to be anointed with oil at his coronation, thus asserting that he reigned as an independent monarch, and not merely as a vassal of England.

The rule of Mortimer was disliked by the Earls of Lancaster and Kent, a younger son of Edward I., and in 1330 Mortimer found means of executing the latter for treason; but the same year Edward with Lancaster's help seized Mortimer and had him hanged, and henceforward ruled as well as reigned.

Though the cessation of the Scottish wars was a good thing for both England and Scotland, it was not popular with those barons

who owned estates on both sides of the border, who feared to lose one or the other; and in 1332 some of them assisted Edward Balliol, the son of the former king, John Balliol, to attempt to dethrone David. For a time he succeeded, and defeated David's forces at Dupplin Moor, but soon had to fly the country.

Attempt of the barons to make Edward Balliol King of Scotland.

Edward, who had discountenanced the expedition, now came to his assistance, and besieged Berwick. The Scots tried to relieve it, and were defeated at Halidon Hill, 1333; Berwick fell into the hands of the English, and has been counted as one of the possessions of the English king ever since. Balliol was again placed on the throne of Scotland, and David fled to France, but was very soon restored by the Scots, and Balliol was expelled the country. A second invasion by Edward and Balliol produced no result.

English invasion of Scotland. Halidon Hill. Capture of Berwick.

In the time of Edward I. we saw that the Scots had begun the policy of allying with France against England. This was always their plan, and now Edward's interference made them call for French aid. This was given. In 1336 Philip invaded Gascony, and the result was the outbreak of the great war between England and France.

Scots receive help from France.

All the brothers of Isabella, wife of Edward II. (see pedigree IX.), had died in turn, leaving only daughters, and by the Salic law no woman could reign in France; but Edward now declared that the rights of the brothers had passed to his mother Isabella, and through her to himself, and that, therefore, he should be King of France, instead of Isabella's first cousin, Philip of Valois, to whom the French had given the crown. This claim of his was entirely an after-thought, for in 1329 he had done homage for his dominions to Philip, and it was only when he wanted to punish the French king for helping the Scots and for receiving David at his court that he brought forward the claim.

Question of the French succession, and Edward's claim.

Edward, however, not only persuaded himself that his demand was just, but he also got the English Parliament to believe that it would be a good thing for England if he could become King of France. This was probably due to the idea that if the king had

large foreign possessions he would require less taxes, and also that there would be more trade with France if the two countries were joined; but it is also thought that the English were afraid lest Flanders, to which they sent their wool, might fall into the hands of the French, and so their trade might be stopped; for Flanders was to England what Yorkshire is to the Australian wool-growers at the present day. For these reasons the Parliament was eager to help Edward, and to vote taxes to pay for the war.

Causes why the English Parliament supported Edward.

This helped to make the Parliament much more important, and other causes helped to the same end. In 1322, as we saw, the Commons had got a share in legislation, but in 1332 the knights of the shire are first recorded to have deliberated by themselves, and the next year they joined themselves to the citizens and burgesses; so that Parliament separated into two houses, as it is now—the lay and spiritual peers forming the House of Lords, and the knights of the shire and citizens and burgesses the House of Commons.

Importance of Parliament.

Separation into two houses.

This change was most important. By birth the knights of the shire were of the same class as the lords, often they belonged to the same family; and their sitting in the House of Commons prevented the king from playing off one house against the other, as he certainly could have done had the two been composed wholly of different classes. Moreover, the spiritual peers sat with the lay nobles, so that they could not be played off against one another. This helped Parliament to act as a whole. In the French estates, on the contrary, the nobles, clergy, and commoners sat in separate chambers, and the king used to play off two classes against the third; this could not be done in England.

Importance of this change.

In 1337 Edward assumed the title of King of France, and prepared for war. The Parliament had granted him money; he had next to look out for men and allies. For an army Edward relied neither on the feudal array nor on the militia; he used hired soldiers, as England has always done since, when soldiers have been wanted. He was able to pay them well, as he had plenty of money, and young men of all classes who thought they had a turn for fighting flocked to his banners. They took service under some great man, and the whole army was

Raising of troops.

formed into divisions, thoroughly well armed and rudely drilled. The best soldiers were the archers.

For allies Edward, of course, had the Flemings, at the head of whom was the great master-brewer of Ghent, Jacques Van Artaveld; but he also made friends with the small states on the east of France and with the Emperor, so he had hopes of bringing an immense force to bear upon the French king.

Allies.

The next question was the point of attack. Three routes presented themselves, first by way of Flanders, second by the river Seine, and third by way of Gascony. Of these, Edward, in order to be with his allies, chose the first. On his arrival, however, he found that his friends, though willing to receive subsidies, were unwilling to risk themselves in the field. He invaded France, but Philip wisely declined a pitched battle, and having exhausted his money and loaded himself with debt, Edward returned the next year to England. Parliament granted him the enormous tax of the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf in his dominions, and, having collected a new fleet and army, Edward prepared to return.

Invasion of France by way of Flanders.

Its failure.

Heavy tax.

He learnt, however, that Philip had prepared a vast fleet at Sluys to prevent his passage. The French fleet was formed in four lines, but Edward arranged that each ship of men-at-arms should be supported in its attack on a French ship by two vessels filled with archers, who shot down the Frenchmen on the deck; the men-at-arms then boarded, and in this way line after line was defeated, and the ships either sunk or taken prisoners. The French loss was enormous, and for thirty years the English had complete command of the seas, and could go to and fro as they chose. From Sluys Edward went to Brussels, but his new invasion of France was a failure, and it was not till 1346, when he changed his base of operations to the mouth of the Seine, that any success was won (See map, p. 145).

Battle of Sluys.

English gain command of the sea.

Meanwhile Edward was terribly pressed for money, and he conceived the idea that his officers were cheating him of the taxes they collected. Accordingly he hurried to England in 1340, dismissed the Chancellor Robert Stratford with the other officials, and accused John Stratford, Arch-

Quarrel with Archbishop Stratford.

bishop of Canterbury, of wasting his money, and ordered him to answer the charge before the Court of Exchequer. This Stratford refused to do, and the peers backed him up in demanding that a peer should never be tried except before his peers assembled in full Parliament. Edward was forced to yield, and he also made three other concessions of great importance.

Concessions to parliament.

First, that the accounts of the kingdom should be audited by auditors elected in Parliament; second, that ministers should be appointed by consultation between the king and his lords, and should be sworn before Parliament to keep the law; third, at the beginning of each Parliament ministers were to resign their offices into the king's hands, and be compelled to answer complaints brought against them. The first of these gave Parliament complete control over the purse, for they not only were to vote taxes, but also to inquire how the money had been spent; the second and third established what is called responsibility of ministers to Parliament. These concessions were revoked by the king the next year; but they show what the statesmen of the fourteenth century aimed at, and how strong Parliament had become.

Invasion of France by way of the Seine.

Allies with Brittany.

For five years little had been done in the French war, but in 1346 Edward changed his base of operations to the mouth of the Seine. He did this because a dispute had arisen about the succession to the duchy of Brittany, and of course he took the side of one candidate and Philip of the other; accordingly, in July, 1346, he raised a new army and landed in Normandy. After plundering Caen, Edward reached Rouen, and finding the bridge over the Seine held in force, he turned towards Paris, and, after burning and plundering Vernon and Mantes, he reached the neighbourhood of that city. His movements were followed by Philip on the right bank of the river. Edward's object was to reach Flanders, and by a clever feint on Paris he decoyed Philip from the bridge of Poissy, seized it, and crossed the Seine.

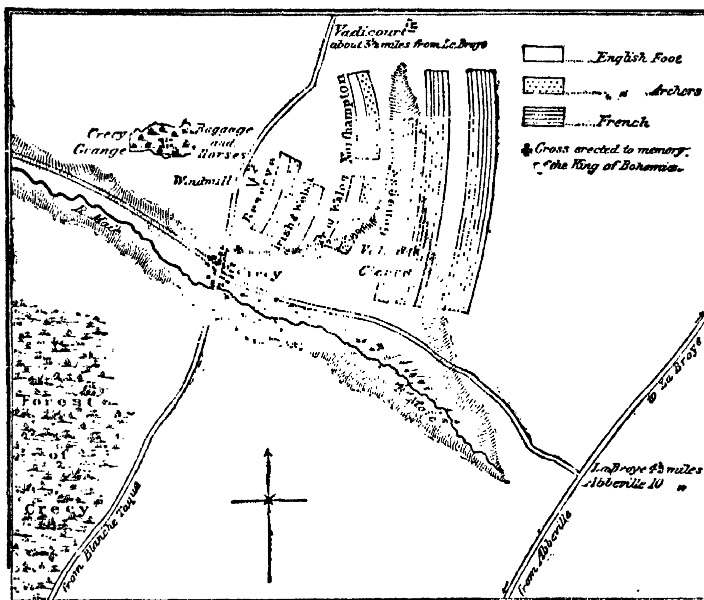
Retreat towards Flanders.

He then marched north, but the river Somme, which runs slow and deep through a marshy soil, barred his path; the bridges were all held or destroyed, and Philip was close behind him. (See map, p. 145).

It seemed that Edward would be shut into the corner between

the Somme and the sea, when, by threats and bribes, he induced a peasant to lead the army across a ford still called Blanchetaque, or white shingle, where the mouth of the Somme could just be crossed at low tide. A body of horsemen barred the passage, but the English fought their way across with the courage of despair, and Philip only arrived in time to see the incoming tide cutting him off from the rear of the English forces.

Passage of the Somme.



PLAN OF CRECY.

Arrived on the north side of the river, Edward turned to bay on the high ground behind the village of Crecy, where the ground slopes away on three sides for a distance of some six hundred yards from a windmill which still marks the spot, and there, on Saturday, August 26th, 1346, he waited for Philip, who had gone back to cross the Somme at Abbeville, to come and attack him.

The rest was a great help to the English, and they made good use of it to prepare for the coming fight. Edward drew up his men on

the hillside, with their backs to the light, in three bodies, each composed of men-at-arms and archers. All were on foot. The archers of each body were arranged in lines behind one another like a harrow, so that the rear ranks could shoot over the heads of their fellows. Behind the archers stood the men-at-arms. The first division, led by the Prince of Wales, now a lad of fifteen, and the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, was in front; the second, under the Earl of Northampton, a little in the rear on one side; the third in reserve. Edward is said to have had in these divisions only four thousand men-at-arms and twelve thousand archers; but he had certainly camp-followers, and a body of archers had been told off to guard the baggage. Against this small but highly trained army Philip brought an immense but inefficient force. It was of the old feudal pattern, and the only infantry were a number of hired Genoese cross-bowmen, and a few serfs dragged unwillingly to the fight. To add to his disadvantages, Philip made the attack at the end of a long day's march, when the army was tired and disorganized, and when the strings of the crossbows were drenched with rain.

Arrangements for the battle of Crecy.

The English.

The French.

Under these circumstances the English quietly stood their ground, and poured upon the surging crowd arrows that pierced the joints of the knights' armour, and brought their horses to the ground, while the wretched cross-bowmen fell in heaps, or were trodden down by the impatient horsemen. When at length the French, by mere weight of numbers, reached the English ranks, the two foremost closed up, and when night fell were still unbroken, while the French army was in hopeless confusion.

The fight.

Philip, wounded, fled from the field to La Broye, and thence to Amiens, his brother was killed, and numbers of nobles were slain or taken prisoners. The next day a dense mist prevented the French from rallying, and the slaughter of that day was said to have been greater than that of the fight itself. The glory of the day was given to Edward, Prince of Wales, and ever since the words "Ich dien" (*I serve*)—said to have been the motto of the blind King of Bohemia, who had fallen in the fight as the ally of the French king—have been the motto of the Princes of Wales.

Rout of the French.

From Crecy Edward marched to Calais, to which he laid siege. By this time he had lost faith in his Flemish allies, who had murdered his friend, the great brewer, Van Artaveld, and the possession of Calais would give him a port of his own. Moreover, Calais was famed for its pirates, who annoyed the merchants of the southern coast; and if he could win it, he would not only rid himself of this evil, but also would secure a mart for the English wool. Against Calais Edward used no engines of war, but simply formed his lines round it, and waited till famine should subdue the garrison. To raise the siege Philip levied a new army, and also persuaded his allies the Scots to invade the northern counties, and help to divert the attention of the English. Both these attempts were unsuccessful, for when it came to the point Philip dared not risk another battle.

Siege of Calais.

His Scottish allies fared even worse. The Scots had crossed the border, and were harrying Northumberland and Durham, when they learned that the lords of the border, Percy and Neville, and the Archbishop of York, with an army raised by the encouragement of Queen Philippa, were ready to attack them. The battle was fought on October 17, 1346, at a place afterwards known as Nevill's Cross, near Durham, and, as at Crecy, the English archers showed their superiority over feudal cavalry. The invaders were totally routed, and David King of Scots was taken prisoner and conveyed to London.

Invasion of the Scots.

For nearly a year Calais held out, and at last, when their supplies were exhausted, the garrison agreed to treat. Edward declared his intention of punishing them for their piracy, but was moved to gentler counsels by the entreaties of his wife Philippa. To secure his new conquest, Edward took most careful measures. All the inhabitants who would not swear allegiance to the English king were expelled, and their place supplied by colonists from England. Privileges were granted to the citizens, and it was ordered that all wool going to the Continent should pass through Calais, which secured for it a flourishing trade. The defences were put in good order, and a strong garrison maintained. The English of those days thought as much of Calais as we now do of Gibraltar.

Capture of Calais.

The capture of Calais brings to a close the first part of the war.

Edward had been successful in the north, and his general, the Earl of Derby, son of Earl Henry of Lancaster who died 1345, had distinguished himself greatly by defending Gascony against superior numbers. For his services there he was raised to the rank of duke, being the first to hold that rank in England.

Close of first part of the war.

For a time the thoughts of all were turned from the war by the Black Death. This terrible pestilence, which broke out in China, gradually made its way to Europe; it reached Constantinople in 1347, and England in 1349. Its ravages were terrible, and were helped on by the filthy habits of the people and their neglect of all sanitary precautions; for it is known that some monks, whose monastery had been supplied with good water, were hardly touched by the plague at all. It is hard to know how many persons died, but two Archbishops of Canterbury were cut down the first year, and it is said that in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire one-half the priests died. In those days there were no registers of deaths kept, so we can only guess at the number of the victims, but these were so numerous as to cause a great crisis in the history of wages and agriculture.

The Black Death.

At this time all England was divided into manors. The lord of the manor usually owned half the soil, a portion was in the hands of freemen, and the remainder was held by villeins. The villeins paid the lord for their houses and land by doing for him certain fixed services, and paying certain dues; these, however, could not be altered, and so long as they were paid the villein could not be turned out. The lord cultivated his own land through his bailiff, who supplemented the customary services by hiring the poorer villeins as labourers. Each manor had its mill and dovecot. The villeins were all obliged to get their corn ground at the lord's mill; and they were not allowed to keep pigeons, but every villein had his pig and his poultry, and very often cattle, which were pastured on the common lands of the manor. When the lord let his own lands to a farmer, he always let with them the stock for the farm, so that there were no farmers who merely rented the land from the landlord as they do now.

The manorial system.

For some time the lords had been glad to let the villeins pay a fixed sum of money instead of performing services, because the lords,

especially when they were going on a crusade, or had reliefs to pay, were glad to get ready money; and when such an arrangement was made, it was noted down in the roll of the manor, and a copy was given to the villein, who was then called a copyholder, and his land a copyhold.

Rise of copyholders.

When the Black Death came and killed numbers of labourers, wages, of course, rose, and then the landlords were driven to their wits' end to get their fields cultivated. To keep wages down, Parliament passed several laws, called the Statutes of Labourers, forbidding labourers to receive higher wages than they had earned before the plague came; and when it was found impossible to enforce these laws, because the cost of living had risen too, the landlords then tried to find flaws in their villeins' copies, and to do all they could to make them perform their old services instead of paying in money. As the rise in price of labour had made the villeins prosperous, these attempts were resented, and for many years the country population was extremely discontented.

Effects of the Black Death.

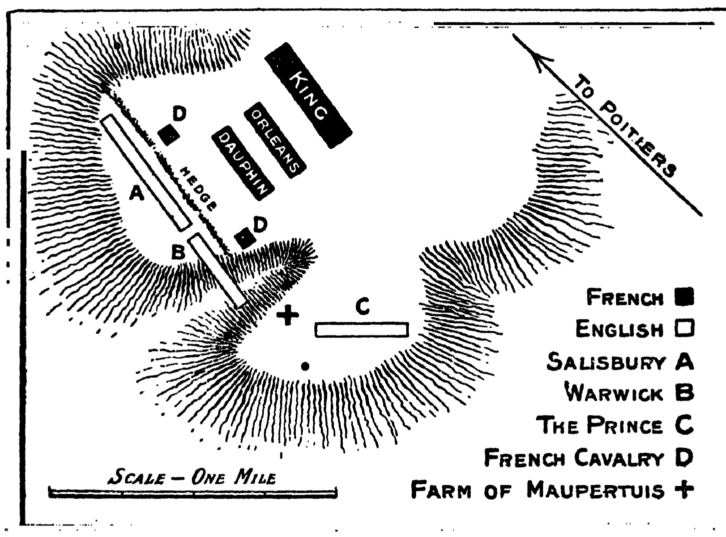
For some years after the siege of Calais the French war languished, but in 1355, Edward the Black Prince—so called from his black armour—starting from Gascony, made a plundering expedition into the south of France, and returned home laden with spoil. The next year he made a raid upon the provinces south of the Loire; but this time the King of France, John, son of Philip of Valois, cut him off with an immense army at Poitiers. The French outnumbered the English by at least four to one, and so desperate seemed his case, that the prince was willing, at the request of the pope's legates, who were present, and, to the credit of the Papacy, doing all they could to prevent bloodshed, to agree to any reasonable terms; but the French demanded that the prince should yield himself a prisoner of war, and to this he would not submit.

Second period of the war. Invasion of France by way of Gascony.

The scene of the battle is about four miles south-east of Poitiers, near the farm of Maupertuis. The ground occupied by the English consisted of an open space of high ground on the left, a hill on the right, and between them a ravine with a marshy bottom. The Earl of Salisbury's men were on the left; the Earl of Warwick's division held the ravine and marsh;

Battle of Poitiers.

and the prince occupied the hill. In front of the left wing and part of the centre was a hedge, broken by a gap opposite to Salisbury's line. The French, mindful of Crecy, drew up their men-at-arms on foot, under the king, the Duke of Orleans, and the dauphin, respectively, and merely sent forward two small bodies of cavalry as a forlorn hope. One of these charged the gap, the other along the edge of the ravine; but both were repulsed by the showers of arrows sent through and over the hedge. An attack



FIELD OF POITIERS, 19TH SEPTEMBER, 1356.

on foot, led by the dauphin, did no better, and Orleans withdrew his men from the field. The prince then brought his men off the hill to support his left and centre; and ordered a general advance to meet the king's division, at the same time sending a handful of mounted men round the hill to take the French in rear. John disdained to fly, and after a bloody combat he found himself the prisoner of the prince whose terms he had so disdainfully rejected a few hours before.

Result of the battle.

From Poitiers Edward hurried to England with his prize, and

was received in London with the utmost enthusiasm. Four years, however, elapsed before peace was concluded, and it was only after the English, under Edward, had suffered terrible hardships during an almost unresisted march to Paris, that Edward agreed to come to terms.

Peace made at Bretigny.

The treaty, which was called the Great Peace, was made at Bretigny in 1360. By it Edward agreed to give up his claim to the French crown, and to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, *i.e.* to the possessions derived from Henry II. On the other hand, he was to have in full sovereignty the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine, which had come to England through Eleanor, the wife of Henry II., Ponthieu, which was the dowry of Margaret, second wife of Edward I., and his recent conquest, Calais.

Terms of the treaty.

By this arrangement Edward secured the advantage of extensive possessions in the wine-growing districts of the south of France, and entrance for his wool and his soldiers into the north, and a great accession to the glory of the English name. In return for these advantages he gave up the empty dream of uniting the crowns of the two countries. The new possessions in the south were created into a principality, which was conferred on the Black Prince. In 1357 a treaty was made with David, and both France and Scotland were bound over to pay large ransoms for their captive kings. The Scots paid their instalments with difficulty, but it was found quite impossible to raise the stipulated sum in France; so John returned to England, and died during his residence in this country.

Results of the war.

Treaty with Scotland.

The validity of the treaty of Bretigny depended on the mutual renunciation by the English and French kings of the claim to the crown and the suzerainty over the ceded provinces respectively. The formal ceremony was delayed by the lawyers, and in the end this delay was the cause of the renewal of hostilities.

Cause of fresh trouble.

While England and France had been at war, Spain had been convulsed by the cruelties of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile. His unpopularity was so great that his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamare, formed a plan to dethrone him, and called to his aid many of the professional soldiers who had been lately fighting for the French or English. He was successful,

State of Spain.

and Pedro appealed for help to the English. The Black Prince, out of a false idea of the duty of princes to dethroned sovereigns, gave him his aid, and defeated Henry of Trastamare in 1367 at Najara, near Vittoria, in Spain; but Pedro was unable to pay the expenses of the expedition, as he had promised, and the Prince, loaded with debt and smitten with disease, returned to Bordeaux. To pay his creditors, Edward levied taxes on his French subjects; this was resented, and the people of Aquitaine appealed to their superior lord, the King of France, who summoned Edward to answer for his conduct. This, of course, led to war.

Interference of the Black Prince.

The second stage of the war opened with far less advantage to the English than the first. The enthusiasm of the nation had cooled, and men were less eager than before to offer themselves as soldiers. Besides, the French soldiers were very different from those who had fought at the beginning of the war. In a long war the feudal system always broke down, and then the French had to adopt the English plan of hiring soldiers. These men were well trained, and, we may take it, made as good soldiers as the English had; so they could no longer rely on winning against superior numbers as of old, and in any fight the chances are that the invaders will be outnumbered. Moreover, the French king, Charles V., was a very clever man, and had adopted as his motto that the French never ought to fight pitched battles with the English, but should content themselves with small skirmishes, cutting off supplies and stragglers, and harassing the invaders without bringing on a decisive engagement. Under these circumstances the renewal of the war was all in favour of the French, and they rapidly overran the English provinces, in spite of all the efforts of the Black Prince.

Renewal of the war.

Bad prospects of the English.

The war began in 1369, and in 1372 the English suffered a disaster which made their case hopeless. Since the battle of Sluys they had had the command of the sea, but in 1372 they lost this advantage; for the Spaniards, who were now under Henry of Trastamare—for Pedro had been murdered—were on the side of the French, and in that year the Spanish fleet completely defeated the English under the Earl of Pembroke, near Rochelle. After this the French made way rapidly.

Loss of the command of the sea.

Defeat off Rochelle.

An expedition under John of Gaunt lost almost all its men without bringing the French to action, and in 1374 only Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne remained in the hands of the English.

It is now time to return to English events. During the wars the Parliament had been very active; the continual demands for money gave it excellent opportunities for demanding redress of grievances, and a great many statutes were passed, some bad, some good, which effected many changes in the state of the country.

Activity of Parliament.

Among others, two important laws regulating the Papal power were enacted. We saw how, in Henry III.'s time, the pope had caused discontent by paying his servants with English livings. In 1351 was passed the Statute of Provisors, which ordered that all persons receiving such preferments from the pope were to be liable to imprisonment, and that the right of presentation should go for that turn to the king.

Statute of Provisors.

We have also seen how jealous the English were of appeals being made to the Papal courts. In 1353 a statute was passed to prevent persons prosecuting suits in foreign courts without the king's leave. This law was called the Statute of Praemunire, from the words in the writ *praemunire* (a corruption of *praemoneri facias*, cause A. B. to be forewarned). Its penalties were forfeiture of goods and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. This statute was often renewed, and it was held a violation of it to receive letters from Rome without the king's consent, as had been forbidden by William the Conqueror.

Statute of Praemunire.

Another statute defined the meaning of treason. This term had been made very elastic by the lawyers, so it was a very good thing to have its meaning laid down. Its chief forms were levying war against the king, or plotting his death. This statute was passed in 1352.

Statute of Treason.

Edward had sometimes evaded the confirmation of the charters by getting the merchants to make a private grant of a duty on wool. This clearly infringed the rights of Parliament, and was forbidden by statute in 1362. Besides these statutes, Parliament took a great deal of trouble to regulate trade, with a view to increasing the quantity of coin in the kingdom. It was long thought that the amount of

Private grants forbidden.

Regulation of trade.

coin in a country was the true test of its wealth. This is now known to be a mistake.

During the latter part of Edward III.'s reign, a great deal of discontent was roused against the clergy. This took various forms. Some part of it was directed against the pope, who was now living at Avignon, on the Rhône; for the English hated paying money to him, when they feared that some of it found its way into the treasury of the King of France. The Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire were the outcome of this feeling.

Unpopularity of the pope.

The English clergy themselves were also very unpopular, and that for many reasons. For many years the way in which the clergy engrossed most of the offices of state had been much disliked; for the universities were now turning out plenty of laymen sufficiently well educated to perform the duties required, and who naturally objected to these posts being in the hands of a particular class. Complaints were also made from the country that bishops and priests neglected their dioceses and livings in order to go and seek lucrative places in London; while there was a general outcry against the wealth of the clergy, which was said to lead to all manner of corruption even in the most recently created orders. (For orders of regular clergy, see p. 187).

And of the clergy.

To reform these abuses, one party appeared who wished to drive the clergy from all secular offices, and another who wished to purge the Church of abuses and to restore it to the purity of primitive times. The latter were often called Lollards, a name which is frequently used to include reformers of all kinds. At the head of the former was John of Gaunt, at the head of the latter was John Wycliffe.

Rise of the Lollards.

John of Gaunt was the third surviving son of Edward III., and when that king grew old, and the Black Prince was abroad or in feeble health, he aspired to be the leader of the government. His rival in the state was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Winchester College and of New College, Oxford.

John of Gaunt.

John Wycliffe, a Yorkshireman, was educated at Oxford, where he became master of Balliol College. He was strongly moved by the corruption he saw around him, and at Oxford he did his best to train up a set of young priests who

John Wycliffe.

should set an example of the duties of clergymen; he also translated the New Testament, and published in a popular style tracts which appealed to the intelligence of the common people. Wycliffe was not the only man to write against the clergy—the whole literature of the time is full of satire on the monks and friars; and Chaucer's Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales" gives us a very good idea of the feelings with which some of the orders were regarded.

The clergy replaced by laymen.

The disasters of the French war were naturally charged on the party in power, and in 1371 Parliament petitioned the king to dismiss all his clerical officers. This gave John of Gaunt an opportunity of appointing his own friends; but they proved worse administrators than the clergy they had displaced.

The Good Parliament. Impeachments.

A reaction, therefore, ensued, and in 1376 a Parliament was elected, under the influence of the Black Prince and William of Wykeham, which attacked the king's new advisers. Some of them were very corrupt, and had made friends with the king's mistress, Alice Perrers. Accordingly the Commons proceeded to impeach, that is, prosecute before the House of Lords, Lords Latimer and Neville. It was the first time that the Commons had attacked the king's ministers in this way. The persons impeached, and also Alice Perrers, were condemned and punished, and William of Wykeham came back to power. This Parliament is known as the Good Parliament.

Reaction on death of the Black Prince.

Unfortunately the Black Prince died in 1376, and many feared that John of Gaunt would try to set aside the little son of the Black Prince, and make himself king on Edward's death; but the Commons insisted that Richard should be recognized as heir-apparent. John of Gaunt then called another Parliament, which reversed the acts of its predecessor. To revenge himself on Wykeham, he also allied himself with Wycliffe, and defended him when he was summoned by the bishops to appear before them at St. Paul's. These violent proceedings caused much discontent, and matters were in this position when the king died, in 1377.

Death of the king.

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD II., 1377–1399 (22 years).

Born 1366; married, { 1381, Anne of Bohemia. / 1395, Isabella of France. }

Chief Characters of the Reign.—John of Gaunt and Henry Bolingbroke; Thomas, Duke of Gloucester; Edmund, Duke of York; De Vere, Earl of Oxford; Neville, Archbishop of York; the Earl of Arundel; Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Simon Burley; Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; John Wycliffe; and Wat Tyler.

ON Edward's death, his grandson Richard, the son of the Black Prince, was made king. He was only eleven years old, which was a very unfortunate thing for the kingdom, as his lot had fallen in troublous times. Not only was the war with France still going on, but also there was reason to expect difficulties in England.

Difficulties of the reign.

Besides the Black Prince, Edward III. had had four grown-up sons, and he had provided for them by marrying them to rich heiresses. Thus Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married the heiress of the De Burghs, who had great estates in Ireland; John of Gaunt married the heiress of Henry, Duke of Lancaster; Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, and afterwards Duke of York, married a daughter of Pedro the Cruel; and Thomas of Woodstock, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, married a co-heiress of the Bohuns of Hereford. The daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married the Earl of March; while John of Gaunt's eldest son, the Earl of Derby, was married to the sister of Gloucester's wife. The result of these marriages, which took place in Edward's lifetime or soon after, was to collect very large estates in the hands of the royal family—an arrangement which was likely enough to cause trouble. Besides this, the commons were discontented, and the whole country had been much oppressed by taxation.

Wealth of the royal family.

To carry on the government a council was appointed, from which the king's uncles were excluded, and the care of the king's person was entrusted to his mother, Joan of Kent.

Formation of a council.

The first duty of the council was to provide for the carrying-on of the war. The French were ravaging the southern coasts, and, to provide for their defence, the Commons voted a large sum; but they stipulated that it should be paid into the hands of two London merchants, Walworth and Philipot, whom the king named as treasurers. This was a very important step, and shortly afterwards the Commons demanded to see the accounts of the treasury; this they had never done before, but the government were so pressed for money that it was quite impossible to refuse.

Control over the expenditure.

Unfortunately, the tax granted by Parliament did not amount to as much as was expected, and in 1381 an additional tax had to be levied. The first tax had been graduated according to wealth, John of Gaunt having paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, while the poorest only paid 4*d.* each; but the new tax was a shilling each on all over fifteen.

Poll-taxes.

This caused great discontent, and the commons all over the east and south of England rose in insurrection. The chief risings were in Essex, under a leader who called himself Jack Straw, and in Kent, under one who took the name of Wat Tyler. Everywhere the rebels burnt the manor-houses in order to destroy the rolls on which the services due by the villeins were recorded, and they killed every lawyer on whom they could lay their hands. The rebels from Essex and Kent reached London; but the men of Essex were pacified by promises, and Richard himself won the goodwill of the Kentish-men after their leader, Wat Tyler, had been killed by Walworth, the Lord Mayor. The rebels demanded that customary services should be abolished, that the rent paid for the land, instead of the services, should be fourpence an acre, and that all should have liberty to buy and sell in fairs and markets. These demands were granted by the king; but when Parliament met, the landowners refused to confirm the grant, on the ground that no one had a right to deprive them of the services of their villeins. In practice, however, individual landlords were unable to enforce

Rising of the peasants.

Demands of the serfs.

the services, and the peasants' revolt marks the beginning of a century of great prosperity for the labouring classes.

John of Gaunt.

During the insurrection the rebels had shown great hostility to John of Gaunt, who continued, however, to have much influence till 1385; but in that year Roger Mortimer,[1] Earl of March, the grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was declared heir to the throne, which destroyed his hopes of the succession, and the next year he made an expedition to Spain, to prosecute his right to the crown of Castile, which he claimed through his second wife, the elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel, and remained there till 1389.

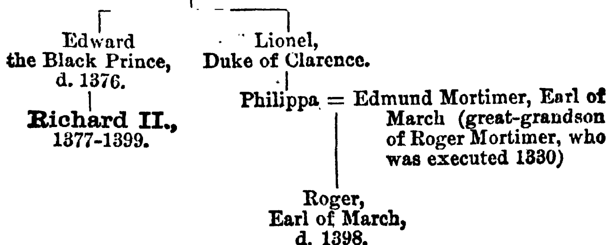
Rise of a peace party and a war party.

During the absence of John of Gaunt, the government lay in the hands of the council, in which Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, had the chief power, and his principal colleagues were De Vere, Earl of Oxford (afterwards created Duke of Ireland), Neville, Archbishop of York, and Sir Simon Burley. The council advised peace, but the nobles, headed by Thomas of Gloucester, opposed this policy, and naturally had the support of those who had made money by the war, and of the soldiers who would lose their occupation if it was concluded.

Struggle between the peace party and the lords appellant.

To defeat the plans of the council, Gloucester and his friends in 1386 demanded the dismissal of Suffolk. For some time Richard resisted, but the opposition threatened him with the fate of Edward II., and he was compelled to yield. A council of eleven was then appointed as a commission, to sit for a year, and to regulate the royal household

[1] ROGER MORTIMER'S CLAIM.



and the kingdom. Richard disliked this, and got the judges to declare the council illegal. Upon this, the Duke of Gloucester, Henry, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, and the Earls of Arundel, Nottingham, and Warwick, defeated the king's friends, under De Vere, at Radcot Bridge, in 1387. A Parliament, called the Merciless, was then summoned to meet in 1388, and the confederated lords appealed[1] of treason the king's favourites, De Vere, Suffolk, Neville Archbishop of York, Sir Simon Burley, and others. Some were executed and some banished, and the chief power fell into the hands of Gloucester. The next year, 1389, Richard declared himself of age, and took the government into his own hands.

The Lollards.

Richard's reign was a time of great activity with the Lollards. Wycliffe died in 1384, but Richard's wife, Anne of Bohemia, was their friend, and under their influence Parliament renewed the Statutes of Provisors, Mortmain, and Praemunire. Some even wished to go further, and deprive the Church of its property, and this naturally made the clergy angry with the court, and favourable to the party of the nobles.

The Beauforts.

In 1389 John of Gaunt returned to England, and afterwards gave his support to the king, who obliged him by making his children by Katharine Swynford legitimate, and having the deed confirmed by Parliament. These children were called the Beauforts.

Fall of Gloucester and his friends.

In 1394 Anne of Bohemia died, and in 1396 Richard married Isabella, the sister of the French king, and made a truce with France for twenty-five years. This truce was distasteful to Gloucester and his friends, who thwarted Richard by every means in their power, and he, on the other hand, determined to crush them once for all, and to rule as he thought fit. To do this he laid his plans with great skill, won over the Earls of Derby and Nottingham to his side, and then, in 1397, suddenly arrested the others and accused them of treason. Arundel was executed, and his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was banished. Warwick was imprisoned; but when Gloucester should have been tried, it was announced that he had died at Calais. Every one believed that he had been murdered by order of his nephew.

Having thus got rid of his opponents, Richard called a Parliament

[1] To appeal is to deliberately charge.

at Westminster. On previous occasions the Commons had been strong because they had been supported by the military power of the nobles; but now that this was broken, they were overawed by the king's body-guard of Cheshire archers, and were compelled to annul the acts of the Merciless Parliament. At a second meeting held at Shrewsbury they granted the king customs for life, which deprived them of control over the purse, and delegated their authority to eighteen of their members, who of course belonged to the king's party.

Parliament of Shrewsbury.

It now seemed as if Richard were absolute, and the next year he found an opportunity of getting rid of his only formidable opponents. A quarrel occurred between the Duke of Hereford, formerly Earl of Derby, and the Duke of Norfolk, formerly Earl of Nottingham. They accused each other of treason, and as there was no evidence except their own word, the case was decided by single combat. However, when the fight was to begin, Richard stopped it, and gave sentence that Norfolk should be banished for life, and Hereford for ten years, which were afterwards reduced to seven. This was unjust, for both could not be guilty, and impolitic, for Hereford was by far the more dangerous of the two. In banishing them Richard stipulated that they should not communicate with Archbishop Arundel; but he promised Hereford that he should not be deprived of any land or goods which came to him by inheritance during his exile.

Quarrel of Hereford and Norfolk.

However, within a short time news was brought that Roger Mortimer, the heir-apparent, had been killed in Ireland, and Richard, whose extravagance made him poor, was foolish enough to seize the property of John of Gaunt, who had died shortly after his son's exile, to provide funds for an expedition to that country.

Confiscation of John of Gaunt's property. Expedition to Ireland.

While he was in Ireland, the new Duke of Lancaster came back to England and demanded the estates of his father. All those who had favoured Gloucester, or who were aggrieved by Richard's arbitrary government, flocked to his standard; and the Duke of York, who had been left as regent, offering no resistance, the whole country passed into the power of Lancaster. Meanwhile Richard was detained in Ireland by contrary winds, and when he at last landed in Wales, he found that the army

Lancaster's revolt.

of Welshmen on whom he had relied had dispersed before his arrival. He was then tricked into surrendering himself into the hands of his cousin, and a Parliament, called under the influence of Lancaster, after enumerating his various arbitrary acts, deposed him.

Throne claimed by Lancaster.

The throne was then claimed by Henry of Lancaster, as the descendant of Henry III. His real claim rested on the ready consent of the clergy, nobility, and commons of the realm, who thought that the transference of the crown from an extravagant and arbitrary king to one who they believed could restore order, and secure them from the evils of the late government, was the best thing for the country.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS UNDER ANGEVIN KINGS (SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS).

Quarrel with Becket	1164–1170
First settlement of English in Ireland	1172
Magna Charta agreed to	1215
Parliament of Oxford	1258
De Montfort's Parliament	1265
Annexation of Wales	1284
Claims to Scottish throne referred to Edward I.	1291
First complete and model Parliament	1295
Confirmatio Cartarum agreed to	1297
Lords Ordainers named	1310
Commons admitted to full share of legislation	1322
Parliament divided into Lords and Commons	1333
Hundred years' war with France begins	1339
The Black Death	1349
The Good Parliament	1376
Peasant Revolt	1381
Death of Wycliffe	1384

BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES, UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS (SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS).

Treaty of Falaise	1174
Siege of Acre	1191
Battle of Damme	1213
" Bouvines	1214
" Lincoln	1217
" Sandwich	1217
" Taillebourg	1242
" Saintes	1242
" Lewes...	1264
" Evesham	1265
" Dunbar	1296
" Cambuskenneth	1297
" Falkirk	1298
" Bannockburn	1314
" Boroughbridge	1322
Treaty of Northampton	1328
Battle of Halidon Hill	1333
" Sluys	1340
" Crecy	1346
Siege of Calais	1346-7
Battle of Nevill's Cross	1346
" Poitiers	1356
Treaty of Bretigny	1360
Battle of Najara	1367
" Rochelle	1372
" Radcot Bridge	1387
" Otterburne	1388

BOOK V

THE KINGS OF LANCASTER AND YORK

XI.—THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.

Edward III., 1327–1377.

Lionel,
Duke of Clarence
(2nd son), d. 1368.

Edmund,
Duke of York,
(4th son), 1401.

John of Gaunt = Blanche of Lancaster.
(3rd son),
1399.

Henry IV.,
1399–1413.

Henry V., 1413–1422.

Thomas, Duke of Clarence, 1421.

John, Duke of Bedford, d. 1435.

Humphr Duke o Gloucest 1446.

Henry VI., 1422–1461.

Philippa, = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (great-grandson of Roger Mortimer, who was executed 1330).
d. 1381.

Elizabeth,
m. Henry
Hotspur.

Roger,
Earl of March,
killed 1398.

Edmund,
Earl of March,
d. 1424.

Anne = Richard, Earl of Cambridge, executed 1415.

Edward,
Duke of York
(elder son),
killed at Agincourt 141

Richard, Duke of York,
killed at Wakefield 1460.

Edward IV.,
1461–1483.

George, Duke of Clarence,
executed 1478.

Richard III.,
1483–1485.

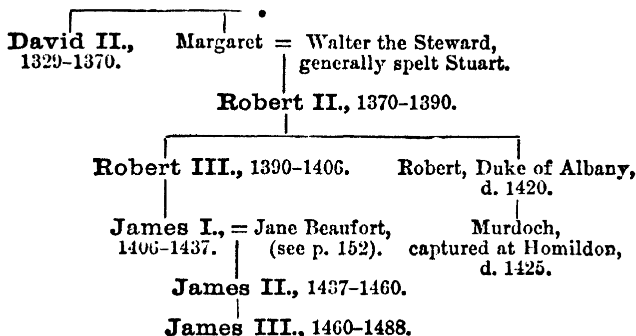
Edward V.,
1483.

Richard, Duke of York,
supposed to have been murdered
in the Tower 1483.

Elizabeth = Henry VII.

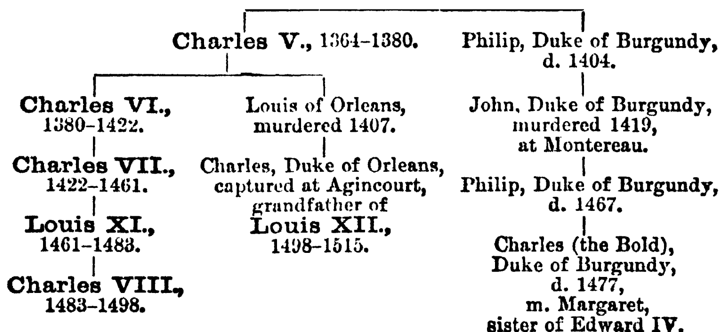
XII.—SCOTTISH KINGS, 1306–1488.

Robert Bruce, 1306–1329.



XIII.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 1350–1515.

John II., 1350–1364.



CHAPTER I.

Henry IV., 1399–1413 (14 years).

Born 1366; married, { 1380, Mary de Bohun.
1403, Joan of Navarre.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**Archbishop Arundel, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy (Hotspur), Owen Glendower, Thomas Beaufort, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.**

The first act of the new government was to imprison the late king. He had still a good many friends, and the Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York, Richard's half-brothers, the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, and the Earl of Salisbury, entered into a conspiracy in his favour. The plot was either betrayed by the Earl of Rutland or detected by his father, and those who rebelled were captured by the common people, who were strong partisans of Henry. The chief result of the insurrection was to cause the murder of Richard. What was his exact fate is unknown, and this uncertainty served to keep alive reports that he was still living, which added much to Henry's difficulties.

Rebellion in favour of Richard.

Death of Richard.

Henry's success had been much furthered by the assistance of the bishops, who had been opposed to the Lollardism of Richard's court. They were rewarded, in 1401, by the passing of the act De Heretico Comburendo, which enabled the ecclesiastical courts, on the conviction of any one of heresy to hand him over to the civil powers for execution. This act was passed by the lords at the request of the clergy, but without the consent of the Commons. The first person executed for heresy was William Sawtre, at one time vicar of Lynn, in Norfolk. From this time forward executions were not unfrequent. They are not often mentioned by the chroniclers, but the expenses of burning a heretic occur from time to time in the accounts of cities and boroughs.

Act De Heretico Comburendo.

Henry soon found himself in difficulties, both in Wales and Scotland. In Wales, Owen Glendower, who had formerly been in the service of Richard, raised a rebellion, ravaged the lowlands, and retired for safety into the fastnesses of the country. These tactics made it very difficult to bring him to battle, and the young Prince of Wales, to whom the duty was entrusted, found the task quite beyond his powers.

Glendower's rebellion.

With Scotland, since the release of David, the English had, on the whole, been on fair terms, but Richard had once, in 1385, invaded the country, and in 1388 a battle had been fought at Otterburn between the rival border lords, Percy and Douglas. Now, however, the Scots refused to acknowledge Henry, so he attacked them. With a powerful army he advanced to Leith and burnt the town; but the Scots refused to be drawn into a pitched battle, and the English, having consumed their provisions, returned home without glory. The conduct of the war was left to Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and his son Henry, surnamed Hotspur. In 1402 the Scots were beaten at Nesbit Moor and at Homildon Hill, where the Percies were fortunate enough to take prisoners the Earl of Douglas and Murdoch, Earl of Fife, the son of the Duke of Albany, brother of the Scottish king. Henry, of course, demanded possession of the prisoners, and this demand led to a quarrel.

War with Scotland.

Although the Percies had been the chief supporters of Henry's attempt against Richard, they complained that the king had never repaid them the sums they had advanced. Moreover, Hotspur had married Elizabeth Mortimer, the sister of that Roger who had been declared heir to Richard II. Her brother Edmund, the guardian of Roger's children, who were kept by Henry in Windsor Castle, had been taken prisoner by Glendower, and Henry refused to do anything towards procuring his ransom. Exasperated by these grievances, the Percies in 1403 formed a conspiracy, into which they brought the Earl of Worcester, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, Douglas, Owen Glendower, and Mortimer.

Rebellion of the Percies.

The great object of the conspirators was to join their forces, so Hotspur and Douglas hurried to the Welsh border, while Northumberland stayed behind to wait for an army of Scots who were to join

the enterprise. Hotspur had raised the men of Cheshire, who were devoted to the cause of Richard, and was close to Shrewsbury, the possession of which would have secured his junction with Glendower, when Henry entered the town before him. The next day an obstinate battle was fought within sight of the walls, and while the fortunes of the day were yet doubtful, Hotspur fell by a chance arrow, the rebel army was completely routed, and Douglas and Worcester were taken prisoners. Worcester was at once executed, and Henry marched north against Northumberland. That crafty nobleman, however, pretended that the troops he had levied were intended for the king's assistance, and Henry found himself obliged to accept this explanation.

Battle of Shrewsbury.

Two years later, in 1405, another conspiracy was discovered; its leaders were Scrope, Archbishop of York, the cousin of one of Richard's ministers, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, son of the Duke of Norfolk whom Richard had banished. The insurgents were outwitted, not to say cheated, by John, the king's third son, and were both executed. The public execution of a prelate is noteworthy in the history of the Church, and shows how much the respect for the clergy had declined since the days of Thomas Becket.

Rebellion of Scrope and Mowbray.

The Earl of Northumberland, who had sympathized with the rebels, escaped their fate by flying to Scotland. For some time he sought aid in that country and in Wales, but in 1408, having raised a small army on his northern estates, he was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster. During the whole of the reign Owen Glendower maintained himself in his fastnesses, and sometimes ventured to attack the English in the plains, and till his death in the next reign he managed to preserve his independence.

Fate of Northumberland and of Glendower.

These troubles made Henry's throne no enviable seat during the early years of his reign, but his ability enabled him to overcome them, and by degrees he became firmly seated. Fortune gave him great advantages in his relation to foreign countries. Scotland was distracted by the ambition of the Duke of Albany, the younger brother of the mad King Robert III., whose son Murdoch was in Henry's hands; and when the Scots sent James, Robert's little son and heir, to France to be out of

Good fortune of Henry abroad.

the way of his uncle's violence, he was captured off Flamborough Head by the English. These two captures gave Henry a great ascendency in Scotland, and in France circumstances were equally favourable. In that country the imbecility of the king, Charles VI., had allowed the nation to be convulsed by a struggle between the rival houses of Burgundy and Orleans. In 1407 the Duke of Orleans was murdered, and four years later Henry assisted the Burgundians against the revenge of the duke's followers. The next year he changed sides, and sent his son Clarence to help the Orleanists, and in this way he was able to keep France weak.

Constitutional rule of Henry IV.

At home, however, Henry was totally unable to make head against the demands of his Parliament. The extravagance of Richard had left the crown poorer than ever. Henry feared to excite the country by asking for money, so his only chance was to rule as a constitutional sovereign. Accordingly, we find the Commons in 1406 insisting upon a proper audit of the accounts of their grants, and the king in 1407 conceding the right of the Commons alone to originate money grants, and allowing perfect freedom of deliberation on such grants between both Houses of Parliament. In 1404 the king even, at the request of the Commons, named twenty-two members of Parliament to be his great and continual council, and in 1406 and 1410 similar requests were made, showing that the notion that ministers should be chosen by consultation between king and Parliament, which had been stated under Edward III., was now being put into practical effect.

Proposed disendowment of the Church.

One great object of the Commons was to induce the king to confiscate the property of the Church, which they assured him would serve to support a large force of soldiers, and so give relief from taxation; and it was only the friendship of the king to the Church which prevented them from carrying this policy into effect.

The retainers.

Another object was the abolition of retainers. These were men, often disbanded soldiers, who wore the badge of some great lord and were bound to fight in his quarrels. They constituted a standing army for those who could afford to keep them, and were an incessant temptation to rebellion and private war. Three times during this reign the Parliament forbade

their maintenance, but the king was not strong enough to enforce the observance of the law.

Close of the reign.

The chief statesmen of the reign were Archbishop Arundel, and Thomas and Henry Beaufort, sons of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford. Henry himself seems to have preferred Arundel; the Prince of Wales favoured the Beauforts. Towards the close of the reign, Prince Henry seems for some reason to have lost the confidence of his father. In 1412 he was dismissed from the council, and the next year his younger brother Clarence was sent to lead the army in France, and at the same time Thomas Beaufort was dismissed from the office of chancellor. There is a tradition that the prince wished to seize the crown before his father's death. Perhaps he had not shown sufficient regard for his father's position; but the king's health was so bad during the latter years of his reign that he could hardly attend to business, and he died in 1413.

CHAPTER II.

Henry V., 1413–1422 (9 years).

Born 1388; married, 1420, Katharine of France.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Archbishop Arundel; Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal; Sir John Oldcastle; Richard, Earl of Cambridge; and Thomas, Duke of Clarence.

Whatever may have been Henry's conduct as Prince of Wales, on his accession he set himself to be a thoroughly good king. His first act was to make Henry Beaufort chancellor, and Arundel returned to his duties as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Persecution of the Lollards.

Arundel's first act was to renew the persecution of the Lollards, by attacking their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, who was generally known, in right of his wife, as Lord Cobham. Oldcastle was a good soldier and a personal friend of the king; but Henry's influence was not enough to induce him to give up his principles, so he was tried for heresy, and condemned to be burnt by the civil powers. Before the day came, however, he managed to escape from the Tower, and for some years led a wandering life, till his capture and execution in 1417. Shortly after his escape a rumour reached the king that a great meeting of Lollards was to be held in St. Giles's Fields, just outside the walls of London. Prompt measures were taken; the gates were shut, and the country scoured by parties of horsemen. Some sixty or seventy men were captured, who admitted that their leader was Sir John Oldcastle. These were executed, and Henry's vigorous actions prevented the movement from becoming serious.

Renewal of the French war.

This trouble, coupled with the danger which always existed from the turbulence of the barons and their retainers, determined Henry to gratify his ambition by prosecuting the war with France, by which he hoped to distract the attention of the country from home affairs, and also to turn into a useful

channel the energy of his unruly subjects. His father is said to have suggested this policy, and he was supported by the nation on much the same grounds as secured support for Edward III. Henry himself had not a shadow of claim to the French crown; for even that of Edward III., bad as it was, had clearly descended to the line of Mortimer; but the moment was extremely favourable, for the struggles between the Burgundians and Orleanists were still going on, and he hoped to gain the support of one or other of these parties. Accordingly, in 1414, he laid formal claim to the French crown; and as his demand was rejected, he took the advice of Parliament and prepared for an invasion of France. The Parliament granted liberal supplies, and the English property of foreign monasteries was handed over to the king. An army was hired in the usual way, a duke receiving 13*s.* 4*d.* a day for his services, an archer 6*d.*; so that, as the ordinary wages of labourers was at this time 4*d.*, Henry had no difficulty in getting troops.

When all was ready, a "Great Council" (*i.e.* a meeting of the magnates without the inferior clergy and the Commons) gave orders that the war should begin, and the army was on the point of setting out from Southampton, when a plot was discovered against the king. The leaders were Richard, Earl of Cambridge, second son of Edmund, Duke of York, and husband of Anne, the sister and heiress of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March; and Lord Scrope, a relative of Archbishop Scrope. Their plan was to place March on the throne. The leaders were both executed without disturbance. The Earl of Cambridge left behind him a son, Richard, of whom we shall hear more.

Cambridge's conspiracy.

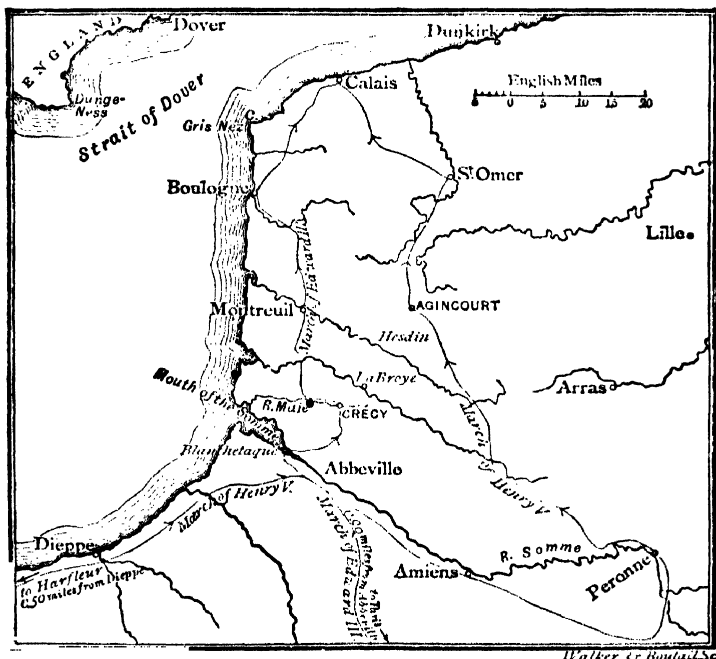
From Southampton, Henry, with a force of twenty-four thousand archers and six thousand men-at-arms, sailed to Havre, landed and laid siege to Harfleur, and took it. Dysentery, however, broke out in the camp, and when a garrison had been told off for the defence of the town, Henry found that he had only nine hundred men-at-arms and five thousand archers remaining efficient.

Siege of Harfleur.

With these he rashly determined to march along the coast to Calais. On their way the little band suffered terrible privations, and when they reached Blanchetaque, where Edward III. had crossed the Somme, they found the ford guarded,

The march to Calais.

and there was nothing for it but to march up the river, in hopes of finding some means of getting across. But all the fords and bridges were guarded, and it was not till the English had advanced almost to the source of the Somme that they succeeded in crossing the river, and they then found that the constable of France, with the Duke of Orleans, and a large army had barred the road to Calais at Agincourt. Henry had no choice but to fight or surrender, so he

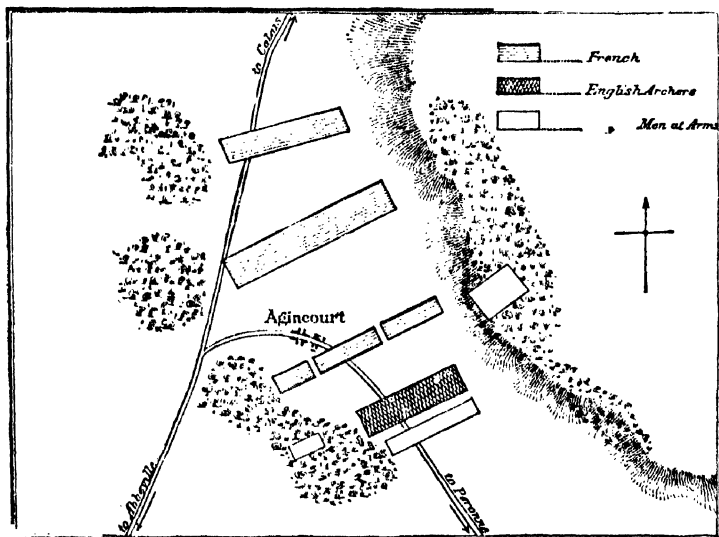


NORTH OF FRANCE, TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAMPAIGNS OF CRECY AND AGINCOURT.

and his little army faced the French and prepared to make a brave resistance.

Arrangements of the battle. The French are said to have outnumbered the English by seven to one. They had no archers, but relied on their men-at-arms, the great body of whom, as at Poitiers, fought on foot. The constable was a bad general, and he drew up his men in such a fashion as to throw away all the

advantage which his numbers gave him. At the point chosen for the fight the road ran between two woods, and the constable drew up his forces in three divisions, one behind the other, the front stretching from wood to wood. The result of this plan was that the front of the first division was only equal in length to that of the English, so that the French gave up all chance of outflanking their opponents. Had the field of battle been an open plain, the long lines of Frenchmen might have wheeled completely round the



FIELD OF AGINCOURT, 25TH OCTOBER, 1415. (ADAPTED FROM SPRUNER.)

little English army. Moreover, as the French had no archers, only their front rank could fight hand-to-hand at a given time; while the English, in open order, could from a distance pour their arrows on the mass of unresisting Frenchmen. In addition to this, the ground where the French stood was newly harrowed, and the men-at-arms in their heavy armour sank knee-deep in the mud. Henry fully expected that the French would make the attack, and ordered each archer to provide himself with a long stake pointed at the end, which he was to stick in the ground before him as a

defence against the cavalry; but so confident did he feel in the steadiness of his archers, that he ventured to detach from his force two bodies of men-at-arms, who were to creep round the woods and attack the French flank at the critical moment.

The fight.

When the battle began, Henry found that the French meant to stand on the defensive. He therefore ordered his men to attack the huge French army. Carrying their stakes, the archers advanced, and when well within range planted them in the ground, and quietly sent their deadly arrows among the crowd of standing Frenchmen. Soon the dying men and struggling horses threw the first division into confusion, and then the English, slinging their bows behind them, rushed sword in hand upon the struggling mass. The first division was utterly routed, and forced to fall back on the second. A similar manœuvre discomfited that too, and then the English, confident of victory, marched to attack the third. At that moment a cry was raised that they were being attacked in the rear. The alarm was false, but the mistake was not discovered till orders had been given to kill the prisoners, lest they should take advantage of the danger to turn upon their captors. Then the third line was attacked, and a charge in flank completed its destruction.

Result of the battle.

The constable of France and the Count of Alençon were killed, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were taken prisoners. Overjoyed at their success, the English lost no time in marching to Calais and returning to England. Henry was received with tumultuous rejoicings, and Parliament, forgetting the importance of controlling the purse, voted him in gratitude a tax on wool and leather, not for a fixed time, but for life.

New invasion of France.

The next year Henry entered into a formal alliance with John, Duke of Burgundy, who since the battle of Agincourt had had the chief power in France, and in 1417 he again invaded Normandy. The Norman towns fell fast before him, and in 1419 Rouen, the capital, was taken.

Murder of the Duke of Burgundy.

Danger now made the French factions unite. Hitherto the queen, with her daughter Katharine, had been on the side of the Burgundians, and Charles, the dauphin, on that of the Orleanists; but hopes were now entertained that a reconciliation might be effected. Accordingly, a

meeting was arranged between the Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin at the bridge of Montereau-sur-Yonne. There a dreadful crime was committed, for the followers of the dauphin, pressing into the wooden cage reserved for the conference, murdered the duke.

This crime was a gross blunder, for the duke's son Philip and the French queen threw themselves into the arms of the English, and an agreement was made that Henry should marry Katharine, and become King of France on the death of Charles. In the mean time he was to act as Regent of the realm, and levy war on the dauphin. This arrangement, made in 1420, is known as the treaty of Troyes. Henry at once married Katharine, and was received in Paris as heir to the throne, and then returned to England, leaving his brother Clarence to manage affairs in France.

Treaty of Troyes.

Meanwhile the dauphin had gathered to his standard the forces of the south of France, where the Armagnacs, as the Orleanists are often called, were strongest; and called to his aid the Scots, who, as was usual during this war, invaded the north of England, and also sent troops to France. Clarence was foolish enough to attempt to surprise the allied army by leaving his archers behind and rapidly marching with men-at-arms only to Beaugé. There he met with a severe defeat, and was himself killed, in 1421.

Alliance of the French and Scots.

Defeat of Beaugé.

To repair this disaster Henry hurried back from England and besieged Meaux, a strong fortress near Paris. This he took after a great effort, in 1421. The same year a son was born to him at Windsor; but before Henry could return, an attack of dysentery, then the scourge of armies, put an end to his life, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the ninth of his reign.

Death of Henry.

Henry V.'s character has been much praised. There is no question that he was a great warrior and an able man; but he was terribly severe to the Lollards, and his ambition cost England many lives and much misery. A chronicler says of him, "He had been of high and great courage, valiant in arms, prudent, sage, great in justice, who without respect of persons did right for small and great. He was feared and revered of his relations, subjects, and neighbours."

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VI., 1422–[dethroned] 1461 (39 years), [died] 1471.
Born 1421; married, 1445, Margaret of Anjou.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—John, Duke of Bedford; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; Cardinal Beaufort; Jeanne Darc; William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; Richard, Duke of York; John, Earl of Somerset; and Edmund, Duke of Somerset; Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; and his son Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (the king-maker).

Arrangements for the minority of the king.

HENRY'S little son was only nine months old when his father died, so the chief power rested in the hands of the council, and it was arranged that his uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, should be protector of the realm, but that in his absence Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, should hold that position, and be the king's chief counsellor. As a rule, Bedford was busy in France, so that Gloucester had the chief power, and next to him stood Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

Bedford's alliance.

The late king wished the regency of France to be held by the Duke of Burgundy; but that prince declined it, and the post fell to the lot of Bedford. John, Duke of Bedford, was a man of noble character. He was thoroughly disinterested, and, though he was not as brilliant as the late king, he combined Henry's solid talents with some of the nobleness of character which distinguished the Black Prince. His first care was to secure the English dominions from attack. The English territory north of the Loire was something in the form of a wedge driven from the sea-coast into the centre of France, and having its point at Paris. To secure the sides of this wedge, Bedford drew close his alliance with Burgundy in the east and Brittany in the west, and, to strengthen the union, he and Arthur of Richemont, the brother of the Duke of Brittany, married sisters of the Duke of Burgundy.

Two battles secured his communication with these allies. Crevant, in 1423, drove the French out of the district between Paris and Burgundy, and Verneuil, in 1424, cleared the district between Paris and Brittany, so that the French were forced to confine themselves to the lands south of the river Loire. To deprive the French of Scottish aid, James, King of Scotland, was released and sent home with an English wife, Jane Beaufort, granddaughter of John of Gaunt. (See p. 152).

Crevant and Verneuil.

Unfortunately, the imbecile Charles VI. died in 1422, very soon after Henry, and this deprived the English of the pretence of being the allies of the French king, and made the dauphin, now Charles VII., the rightful champion of the French cause. A worse blow still was struck at the English power by the folly of the Duke of Gloucester. That nobleman married Jacqueline of Hainault, the divorced wife of a relation of the Duke of Burgundy. She had extensive lands in the Netherlands, to which the Duke of Burgundy hoped to succeed; and as Gloucester tried to push his wife's claims by arms, the Duke of Burgundy's friendship for England naturally cooled. At home, too, Gloucester caused trouble by quarrelling with his uncle Beaufort, and Bedford had to come over to England to arrange their differences.

Folly of Gloucester.

The old difficulties which had caused the loss of France in the time of Edward III. now began to tell upon the English. Men and money were more difficult to get, while the French had given up their feudal armies and had hired professional soldiers, after the English fashion. The great want of the French was enthusiasm and belief in their own power, and this was supplied as follows. In 1428 Bedford decided to lay siege to Orleans. This town lies on the north bank of the river Loire, and, therefore, acted as a gate by which the French might at any time enter the English territory. In the siege the English were unlucky from the first. One of their best generals, the Earl of Salisbury, was killed by a cannon-shot while he was examining the defences, and though at Rouvray Sir John Fastolf cleverly beat off a party of French who attacked a convoy of herrings under his charge, the siege made slow progress.

Siege of Orleans.

Just at this moment there arrived in Charles's camp a peasant girl of Domremy, Jeanne Darc, who was filled with a generous

enthusiasm for her country, and assured Charles that, if she were allowed to lead the soldiers, she would raise the siege and conduct him in triumph to be crowned at Rheims, like all the French kings before him. The appearance of Jeanne gave just the spark of enthusiasm that was needed; the French under her were a match for the English, and drove them from Orleans. The Earl of Suffolk was captured at Jargeau; Sir John Talbot was defeated and taken at Patay; and within the year Charles VII. was crowned at Rheims. The effort, however, died away; the Maid of Orleans was captured and burnt as a heretic, and seven years elapsed before the French made any further progress in their efforts to rid themselves of the invaders.

Jeanne Darc.

At home the most important event of the time was the passing of an act of Parliament, in 1430, to restrict the right of voting for knights of the shire to persons possessing freeholds in the shire to the value of forty shillings a year. By this act all copyholders and villeins were disfranchised, and the forty-shilling freeholders were the only voters for the counties till the Reform Bill of 1832.

The forty-shilling freeholders.

Unfortunately, in 1433 Bedford himself made a great mistake. His Burgundian wife died, and he very soon afterwards married Jacquetta of Luxemburg, the sister of the Count of St. Pol. The lands of this nobleman lay between the possessions of Burgundy and those of France, and he was in the habit of playing off one against the other; the consequence was that the Duke of Burgundy became estranged from Bedford, and prepared to go over to the side of Charles VII. To make matters worse, Bedford's health declined, and he was less able to conduct the difficult struggle. Under these circumstances, in 1435 the pope arranged a congress at Arras to try and bring about peace. Most of the European states sent ambassadors, and the Duke of Burgundy secretly agreed that, if the English did not accept the French terms, he would take up arms against them. The French offered to give the English Normandy and Guienne in exchange for their claim on the French crown. These terms were refused. Burgundy joined the French, and at the same moment Bedford, worn out by overwork and disappointment, died at Rouen.

Quarrel with Burgundy.

Death of Bedford.

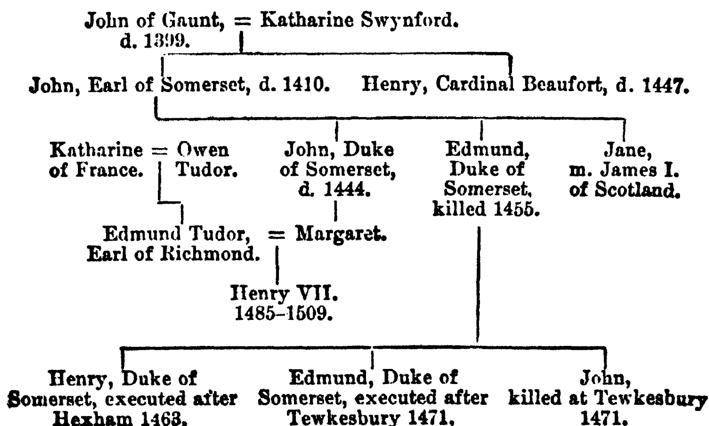
Bedford was succeeded by Richard, Duke of York, son of the

Earl of Cambridge, who had been executed in 1415. He was an able man, but was unable to cope with the united Burgundians and French, who now pressed heavily on the English. Paris was abandoned in 1440, and the English with difficulty maintained themselves in Normandy. In hopes of dividing the French, the Duke of Orleans, captured at Agincourt, was released in 1440; but the plan had no success.

Quarrels in the royal family.

During these years the chief power in England lay in the hands of Gloucester and Beaufort. They were constantly at variance, and it had taxed Bedford's powers to keep the peace. In 1426 Beaufort was made a cardinal, which gave Gloucester a fresh opportunity for attacking him, but Parliament granted him a dispensation from the Statute of Praemunire, which he had broken by receiving an appointment from Rome. As the war went on, two parties appeared in England, one for peace, the other for war. Bedford had been wishful for peace, and Beaufort supported his views; but Gloucester, with the young nobles and professional soldiers, took the opposite side. Gloucester was a popular man, and had a reputation for chivalry which gained him the title of "Good," but it is hard to see why he deserved it. To the same party as the cardinal belonged his nephews, John Beaufort,[1] Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444, leaving an only

[1] THE BEAUFORTS.



daughter, Margaret, and his brother Edmund, who, after his death, succeeded to the title. Another adherent was William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, grandson of the minister of Richard II. When Henry grew up, his gentle disposition led him to take the same side, so that there was thus formed a court party in favour of peace, and an opposition, or nobleman's party, in favour of war.

In 1445 the peace party carried out a great stroke of policy by negotiating a marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of René, Count of Anjou and Maine, and niece of the French queen. It was hoped that this would lead to peace, and, to pave the way, the English gave up to René the counties of Anjou and Maine, which had been long in their hands. This marriage was arranged by the Earl of Suffolk, who brought over the young queen; and, though he was thanked for his services by Parliament, the step was so hated in the country that it was the beginning of Suffolk's unpopularity. Margaret was a woman of great force and impetuosity; she soon acquired a complete ascendency over the mind of Henry, and as she reposed confidence in Suffolk, he gained discredit for any mistakes that were made, especially as Cardinal Beaufort was now an old man.

King's marriage.

Of course the power of Suffolk was viewed with jealousy by Gloucester, and in 1447, at the Parliament of Bury St. Edmunds, the court party determined to strike a blow at their opponents by arresting Gloucester on a charge of high treason. This was carried out, and five days after his arrest Gloucester died in prison. As his health was wretched, there is every reason to suppose that his death was due to natural causes, but at the time it was generally believed that he had been murdered. Henry had as yet no children, so Richard, Duke of York, as representative of the elder line of the descendants of Edward III. (see pedigree XI.), became heir-apparent to the throne, and he also succeeded Gloucester as leader of the opposition. The same year Cardinal Beaufort died, and Somerset and Suffolk were the most prominent men left about the court.

Arrest and death of Gloucester.

Duke of York heir to the throne.

Meanwhile things began to look very black in France. Brittany had joined the French, the English had been driven from Rouen in 1449, and in the north Bayeux, Caen,

Rapid loss of France.

and Cherbourg were lost in 1450, and Calais alone remained in English hands.

At home the heavy drain of men and money had begun to tell; the government had hard work to get funds to pay the troops, or to find soldiers to replace those who had fallen. The power of the king was so weak that frightful disorder existed in the country. There was no respect for the law among the great nobles. In Norfolk a gentleman named John Paston obtained a house and property in a lawsuit. The defeated suitor, Lord Molcyns, who quite unjustly claimed the manor of Gresham, collected a force of one thousand men, and attacked the house while the owner was away, taking the beams from under the bedroom of his wife to make her leave the place. In the north the Percies and the Nevilles were carrying on a private war of their own, and the whole country was in disorder. Everything showed the need of a change.

Disastrous condition of the country.

In this state of affairs Suffolk's rule became most unpopular, and in several places riots occurred. In one of these, Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, who had gone down to Portsmouth to offer the sailors a portion of their pay instead of the whole, was murdered; and another minister, Ascough, Bishop of Salisbury, was seized in his own diocese, and murdered at Edington, in Wiltshire. Between these two events an attack was made in Parliament on Suffolk himself. He was impeached; but, having thrown himself on the king's mercy, was banished for five years. This did not satisfy his enemies, and on his way to Calais the ship was boarded, and he was taken out of it; and shortly afterwards he was taken on board a small boat and beheaded, and his body was flung on the shore of Kent.

Fall of Suffolk.

Immediately after the death of Suffolk, the Kentishmen rose in arms, under Jack Cade, an Irishman who had been a retainer of Sir Thomas Dacre, but who gave out that his name was Mortimer, and that he was a cousin of the Duke of York. Followers flocked to his banner from Surrey and Sussex as regularly as though the militia had been called out, and with a large force he marched on London, proclaiming that he was going to set right the grievances of the common people and reform the government. A force that was sent against him, under Sir Humphrey

Cade's rebellion.

and William Stafford, was routed at Sevenoaks. The king unwisely withdrew to Coventry, and Cade entered London without opposition. There the rebels seized Lord Say, another of Suffolk's ministers, and beheaded him; and the same fate befell the sheriff of Kent. The disorderly conduct of the rebels roused the anger of the Londoners, and a fierce battle was fought on London Bridge. In this the Londoners got the better. Cade's men began to despair of success, and accepted the terms which were offered by the government. The rebel army dispersed, but Cade himself kept a few followers, and retreated into Kent, whither he was pursued by Iden, the new sheriff, captured, and summarily executed. His head was placed on London Bridge, and it is said that it was the twenty-fourth which had been placed there within the year.

Sevenoaks.

In this way Suffolk and his supporters, Moleyns, Ascough, and Lord Say, had been disposed of; but the government still remained in the hands of Edmund Beaufort, who was supported by the queen, Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford, while the Duke of York was assisted by Lord Salisbury and his son, who was, by right of his wife, Earl of Warwick. In our days these noblemen would have brought a motion of want of confidence against the ministry; but then it was hard to get rid of an unpopular minister except by impeaching him, or murdering him, or by successful insurrection against the king. For in those days the king and not the ministry was regarded as responsible for the government of the country. As each of these nobles was at the head of a band of retainers, any attempt to appeal to force was certain to lead to civil war.

Formation of a Yorkist party.

The hope of York's friends was that Henry would die without children, in which case York would have had the best claim to succeed to the throne; and in 1451 they tried to get Parliament to declare him the king's heir, but the proposal was not carried out. In 1452 York collected an army, and demanded the dismissal of Somerset (Edmund Beaufort). The king ordered Somerset's arrest, on which York disbanded his followers, but was in his turn arrested and compelled to swear allegiance to Henry.

Quarrel between York and Somerset.

While Somerset and York were quarrelling in England, matters

had been going from bad to worse in France. Normandy had been altogether lost, but the English were still struggling to retain possession of the southern provinces. The struggle did not last long; Guienne and Gascony were lost in 1451, and in 1453, in an attempt to recover them, Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the best general the English had, was killed with his son in the battle of Châtillon, and the loss of all France but Calais immediately followed.

Loss of France.

These disasters were ascribed by the nation to the incapacity of Somerset, and to some extent they were right. Henry had no idea of being a despot like Richard II.; but he was incapable himself, and was unfortunate in not being aided by capable friends. He was not unjust, but he was not strong enough to enforce justice; and consequently those who smarted under the loss of France, or were ruined by the loss of their trade with Guienne—to which country we sent our wool in exchange for wine—or who wished for a minister who could enforce law and order, were prepared to force Henry to put York in Somerset's place.

Weakness of the king.

Almost at the same time that the defeat in Guienne occurred, Henry was taken ill. Perhaps he was tainted with the madness of his grandfather, Charles of France; but, be this as it may, his illness completely upset the balance of his mind, and made him for a time an idiot. About three months after his seizure his wife bore a son, who was called Edward. These events altered the state of affairs. The birth of a prince destroyed York's hope of succession, but the madness of the king made a protector for the kingdom necessary, and in 1454 the lords chose him to fill the place. In making this appointment, the lords were careful to say that nothing was to prejudice the rights of the little prince.

Illness of Henry.

Birth of a Prince of Wales.

No sooner was the king's support withdrawn than Somerset was thrown into prison; but the next year, 1455, Henry recovered, York was dismissed, and Somerset was released and restored to influence. To get rid of him, York, Salisbury, and Warwick called their supporters together, and marched on London. Somerset, with the king, marched to meet them as far as St. Albans, on the Watling Street, and there the first battle of the Wars of the Roses was

Beginning of the civil war.

First battle of St. Albans.

fought, May, 1455. In the fight the Lancastrians were beaten, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford were slain, and Henry himself was taken prisoner. The result of the battle was to destroy the old party of Somerset, and Henry had no choice but to receive York into his councils. The king's mind was now thoroughly weakened, and in November he was again insane. York again became protector till the king's restoration to health in 1456. For some time peace was maintained, and the representatives of each party went in procession to St. Paul's, to pray for the souls of those slain at St. Alban's. Unfortunately Margaret took Somerset's place as York's antagonist, and her action brought on a renewal of the war.

Fighting renewed.

Battle of Bloreheath.

In 1459 Lord Salisbury was marching with his retainers from Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, to Ludlow in Shropshire, the principal seat of the Duke of York, when the queen sent Lord Audley to arrest him. Lord Audley was beaten off and killed at the battle of Bloreheath, and then the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick joined York at Ludlow. Henry marched on that town, and a battle was expected, when panic seized the Yorkist ranks and the rebel army fled in all directions. York took refuge in Ireland, where he had once been deputy. Salisbury and Warwick fled to Calais, of which town Warwick had been governor since the battle of St. Alban's, and with them went young Edward, Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York.

Panic at Ludlow.

Battle of Northampton.

The king then called a Parliament at Coventry, and in it York, Salisbury, Warwick, March, and many of their followers, were attainted[1] by Act of Parliament. This only served to aggravate the Yorkists, and the three earls made their way to Kent, seized London, where Salisbury was left as governor, and then marched on Coventry. The king met them at Northampton, July, 1460, but was again defeated, and a number of Lancastrian lords were slain.

[1] A Bill of attainder is a bill brought into Parliament for attainting, condemning, and executing a person for high treason. By attainting is meant corrupting the blood, so that the attainted person can neither possess property, nor transmit it to his heirs. What he has is forfeited to the Crown. An attaint also followed upon a sentence in a court of law of death for treason or felony. An attainted person was usually executed, but sometimes only the penalty of forfeiture was enforced.

The Yorkists now called a Parliament at London, and in this the Duke of York, as Henry of Lancaster had done before him, claimed the crown, as the descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. The lords admitted the claim, but, unwilling to depose the son of Henry V., arranged a compromise, by which Henry was to be king for life, and York was to succeed him. The Prince of Wales was thus passed over.

York claims the crown, and is made heir.

Henry had not been able to say a word for his son, but Margaret could not submit to such an exclusion. In the north the Lancastrians were still powerful, and the queen, aided by Clifford, Somerset, and Northumberland (sons of the noblemen slain at St. Albans), and the Earl of Westmoreland, collected a powerful army, which utterly defeated York and Salisbury at the battle of Wakefield. There York was slain and Salisbury was taken and executed, and for a moment it seemed that the tide had turned. The battle of Wakefield was fought on December 29, and on February 3 the Earl of March routed Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, Henry's half-brother, at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire. Meanwhile the queen marched south and beat Warwick at the second battle of St. Albans, February 17, rescued the king, and cleared the road to London. It was a question whether Margaret or Edward would now reach London first; but Edward won the race, and on the 28th of the same month he entered London, and was received by the citizens as king. From that moment his reign begins.

Margaret renews the war.

Battle of Wakefield.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross.

Second battle of St. Albans.

The war which had begun in a struggle for the reins of government thus resulted in the overthrow of the House of Lancaster and the placing on the throne of the House of York. From the red and white roses which were respectively adopted as the badges of the Lancastrians and Yorkists, these wars are often called the "wars of the Roses."

The rival roses.

CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD IV., 1461–1483 (22 years).

Born 1441; married, 1464, Elizabeth Woodville.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**The Earl of Warwick, and his brother John Neville, Marquess of Montagu; George, Duke of Clarence; Queen Margaret; Edmund, Duke of Somerset; Lord Rivers.**

THE new king did not waste time over his coronation, for the moment was favourable for striking a decisive blow. Margaret's rude northerners had sacked St. Albans, and their cruelty and rapacity had roused the southerners to rally to his standard. Hitherto the people had taken little interest in the war, and the battles had mostly been fought by the retainers, but now the men of the rich counties of Essex and Kent joined the Yorkist ranks, and with a powerful army Edward took the northern road in pursuit of Margaret. At Ferrybridge he drove Lord Clifford from the banks of the Aire, and made his way into the plain of York; and at Towton, between Pontefract and York, he thoroughly beat the Lancastrians in a pitched battle. It is said that thirty-eight thousand corpses were buried on the field. This battle gave Edward the complete command of the great plain of York, which secured his power in the north. Twice, with Scottish and French aid, Margaret tried to rally; but at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, 1464, she was again defeated, and forced to take refuge at the court of her cousin, Louis XI. of France. The next year, 1465, Henry, who had eluded pursuit in Lancashire and Westmoreland, was betrayed near Clitheroe, and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Rout of Margaret.

Battle of Ferrybridge.

Battle of Towton.

Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.

In the wars of the Roses, the north, in which the feudal lords were most powerful, was Lancastrian; the south, in which at that time the wealth of the country was situated, and in which the great

towns, such as London, Norwich, Bristol, and Coventry, took the lead, was Yorkist. At Towton the townsmen fought under their own banners—the "Ship" of Bristol, the "Black Ram" of Coventry. We may almost say that the fight was one between mediæval and modern England, in which the power of the old feudal families of the north was destroyed.

Yorkists and Lancastrians.

Edward had hardly succeeded in crushing the Lancastrians when he found himself involved in new difficulties. His great trouble was his relation to Warwick, who had had so large a share in placing Edward on the throne that he was called the king-maker. That nobleman, who was exceedingly rich, so that he was able to maintain an army of retainers, and who was also crafty and ambitious, expected to have considerable influence. He wished Edward to marry a French princess, and perhaps hoped to play through her the part that Suffolk had played through Margaret of Anjou.

Warwick's policy.

This scheme was defeated by Edward's falling in love with and marrying Elizabeth Woodville (daughter of Jacquetta of Luxemburg, by her second marriage with Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers), the widow of Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby. Edward then began to promote his wife's relations, to the disgust of Warwick. A few years later he married his sister Margaret to the Duke of Burgundy, the mortal foe of Louis XI., King of France.

Edward's marriage.

Meanwhile Warwick bided his time, and in 1469 he married his daughter Isabella to George, Duke of Clarence, the younger brother of Edward, thus detaching him from the king. He also thought he had found an opportunity of dethroning Edward. A rebellion had just broken out in the north, and the rebels, marching to Banbury, defeated and killed Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, at the battle of Edgecote. At the same time, another party seized Earl Rivers and his son, Sir John Woodville, and beheaded them. These events deprived Edward of his supporters, and he fell for a time into the hands of Warwick and Clarence, and was confined in Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire. Warwick, however, soon found that Edward was too popular to be kept a prisoner, and he was released about Christmas the same year. In the spring of 1470 a new insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire;

Conspiracy of Warwick and Clarence.

but this time Edward crushed it near Stamford, in a battle afterwards known as Losecoat Field, and Warwick and Clarence, fearing that Edward's vengeance would fall on them, fled to France.

There they entered into a league with Margaret, to marry her son Edward to Warwick's daughter Anne, and to replace Henry on the throne, and, accordingly, in September, 1471, they landed at Dartmouth and marched against Edward. The king was at Doncaster, and a battle was imminent, when he found that Warwick's brother, Lord Montagu, the victor at Hexham, whom he had hitherto trusted, was a traitor. There was nothing for it but flight, and he escaped by sea to his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, taking with him his younger brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Meanwhile the queen took sanctuary at Westminster, where her eldest son Edward was born. Warwick then marched to London, drew Henry from the Tower, and placed him on the throne.

Warwick's success.

Edward did not long stay abroad; he got a little help from the Duke of Burgundy, and, in 1471, landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, stating that he was coming to regain his estates. Numbers flocked to his standard; and at Coventry his brother Clarence, who had naturally changed his mind, since Warwick had taken Henry's side, joined him. Their combined forces marched on London, and took the queen from the sanctuary.

Return of Edward.

Edward then turned to face Warwick, and beat him at the battle of Barnet, where Warwick was killed. The same day Margaret, with a new army, landed at Weymouth. She had two courses open to her; one to march on London and rescue Henry, the other to make her way through Wales to the north, districts in which the Lancastrians were strong. Edward moved to Windsor and forced Margaret to choose. She decided for Wales, and marched to Bristol. The lowest bridge over the Severn was at Gloucester, but that town was Yorkist, and she was therefore forced to move on Tewkesbury. There Edward caught her up, and in a terrible battle, in which his brother Richard, the young Duke of Gloucester, led the attack, Margaret's hopes were again shattered. She remained a prisoner, her son Edward perished on the field, either in fight or in cold blood, and her supporter, the Duke of Somerset, was beheaded.

Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.

From Tewkesbury Edward marched to London, and the day of his entry saw the death of Henry. Whether he died a natural death or was murdered, is uncertain. In after-times Gloucester was blamed for the death of both father and son. Margaret was, after a time, handed over to the King of France.

Death of Henry VI.

In 1475 Edward, in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, crossed to Calais and invaded France. Louis XI., however, was anxious not to involve France in war, and made a treaty with Edward at the bridge of Pecquigny. For a large sum of money and a yearly pension, Edward agreed to release Margaret and to retire to England, while Louis promised that the dauphin should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth.

Invasion of France.

Three years later, in 1478, Edward took an opportunity to execute his brother Clarence, whom he had never trusted since his defection to Warwick; and in 1483 Edward died somewhat unexpectedly, at the age of forty-two. On the whole, Edward gained for the country most of the results at which the Yorkists aimed. During the first ten years of his reign there was not much improvement, but after the fall of Warwick, and the attainders and forfeiture of Lancastrian property that followed the battle of Tewkesbury, the nobles, who had been the great causes of disorder, were either killed off, or were so much impoverished that the difficulty of keeping order became much less. Edward's strong rule was a great advantage to the merchants and industrial classes who wanted peace and order, and had therefore supported the Yorkists; its opponents were the old nobility who looked back regretfully to the old state of things. Edward established a spy system by which he well knew what was going on; he saw himself to the administration of justice, tried, by his affability, to make friends with the middle classes, and, in short, began the system which was continued by the Tudors, in which the sovereigns were the patrons of the commons but the enemies of the nobility. For this, however, the wealthy had to pay; and Edward invented the system of benevolences, by which men of means were asked of their goodness to contribute to the needs of the government. As they did not dare to refuse, the plan was a distinct violation of the principle that supplies should be voted by Parliament only, but it did not meet with any active resistance.

Deaths of Clarence and Edward.

Policy of Edward IV.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD V., 1483 (2 months, April to June). Born 1470, died 1483.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Richard, Duke of Gloucester; Anthony Lord Rivers; Lord Hastings; the Duke of Buckingham.

THE death of Edward gave the throne to his son, now thirteen years of age. Nothing could be more alarming to the country than the prospect of another minority like that of Richard II., or more recently that of Henry VI. "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child," was a proverb well impressed by hard experience on the English mind, and there is no wonder that an attempt was soon made to depose him.

Dangers of a minority.

Hardly was Edward dead than a struggle began for the possession of the reins of power. Of the competitors the most important were, first, the family of Woodville, the relations of the queen, who had been promoted by Edward, to the disgust of Warwick and the old nobility. Their leaders were the queen, her brother Anthony Lord Rivers, and her son Sir Richard Grey. Then came the old nobility, of whom the most important were Stafford, Duke of Buckingham,[1] a descendant of Thomas of Wood-

Struggle for power.

[1] GENEALOGY OF THE STAFFORDS.

Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, = Anne, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and granddaughter of Edward III.

- Humphrey, created Duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton 1460.
  - Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, killed at St. Alban's 1455.
    - Henry, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1483.
      - Edward, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521.
  - Sir Henry Stafford, m. Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. by her first husband.

stock, youngest son of Edward III.; Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and Lord Stanley, husband of Margaret, daughter of John, Duke of Somerset. Next to them stood the lords of the Council faithful to the house of York, but opposed to the Woodvilles, the most notable of whom were William, Lord Hastings and John, Lord Howard. Last came Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the younger brother of the late king.

Character of Richard of Gloucester.

Richard had been a faithful friend to his brother. A mere boy during the early wars, he had, as a young man of twenty, gone with his brother into exile, and had distinguished himself by his valour at Barnet and Tewkesbury. Since then he had been to France in 1475, and had lately been acting as governor of the north of England, in which capacity he had carried on a war with Scotland in 1478. His rule in the north had been good, and there he seems to have been deservedly popular. He was a man of great ability, but, like most of the men of his time, quite unscrupulous as to his means. The charge that he had had a hand in the death of both Henry VI. and his son was made when Richard's name was a butt for abuse, and it cannot be either proved or disproved.

Gloucester made protector.

When the king died, Rivers and his friends were in London with Hastings, the Prince of Wales was at Ludlow, Gloucester was at York, and Buckingham, Howard, and Stanley were in the country. The Woodvilles were the first to move. They sent to Ludlow, and were escorting the young king to London, when they were met at Stony Stratford by Gloucester and Buckingham, who were making common cause. These noblemen seized Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, and sent them prisoners to the north, while they themselves marched with the young king to London. There Gloucester was proclaimed protector of the kingdom, so that he had the chief power in his own hands. His next step was to get rid of Hastings, whom he caused to be suddenly executed on a charge of conspiracy.

Fall of Edward V.

He then boldly claimed the crown on the absurd ground that Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was illegal, because he had already been betrothed to another lady, and that the right of Clarence's children was barred by their father's attainder. However, as in the case of Henry IV.

only a pretext was wanted, and as Richard had already secured the power, he had little difficulty in getting the title, of king. Before the end of June, a body of lords and others took upon themselves to offer the crown to Richard, which he accepted; and at the same time Rivers and Grey were executed at Pontefract Castle, in Yorkshire.

RICHARD III., 1483-1485 (2 years).
Born 1450; married, 1473, Anne Neville.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Henry of Richmond; the Duke of Buckingham; Bishop Morton; Lord Stanley.

RICHARD'S accession seems to have been received by the nation without surprise. It was a relief from the dangers of a long minority, and his good reputation in Yorkshire promised that he would make a successful king. He began his reign by making a progress through the south, where he was well received, and he won popularity by refusing offers of money which were made to him by some of the citizens.

Richard's popularity.

It was, however, during this progress that a crime which in the end lost him his throne was committed; for it is certain that during his absence the two young princes, Edward and his brother, Richard Duke of York, who were living in the Tower, disappeared, and it was generally believed that they had been murdered.

Murder of the princes.

Those who thought that the princes had been murdered now turned their hopes to Henry of Richmond, the son of Margaret Beaufort, great granddaughter of John of Gaunt, and her first husband, Edmund Tudor, the son of Katharine of France and her Welsh husband, Owen Tudor. His chief supporter was Morton, Bishop of Ely, who had been a friend of Hastings, and since his death had been living in the custody of Buckingham. That nobleman was much disappointed with Richard, because, though he had received the post of constable of England, he thought

Lancastrian plots.

himself slighted in other respects; and he was, therefore, won over by his prisoner, Morton, to join in a movement for placing Henry of Richmond on the throne. The plan included a rebellion of Buckingham in Wales, and a landing in Devonshire of Henry, who was now an exile in Brittany. It failed, however, because heavy rains flooded the Severn so much that Buckingham could not ford it, and the bridges were held for the king. Consequently, when Henry reached Poole, he found no one to help him, so retired; and Buckingham's forces having dispersed, he himself was taken, and executed at Salisbury 1483.

Difficulty of the succession.

Richard now seemed more secure than ever. He held a Parliament, in which he passed two very good laws, one forbidding the collection of benevolences, the other the keeping of retainers; but he did not live to see them enforced. Unfortunately for him, his only son Edward died in 1484, and as he had declared the children of the late king to be illegitimate, and as those of Clarence were debarred from the succession by the attainder of their father, he appointed as his heir John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, the son of his sister Elizabeth by a son of the Duke of Suffolk, the murdered minister of Henry VI.

Proposed union of the rival houses.

Morton now formed a plan for marrying Henry of Richmond to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., and so uniting the claims of the houses of York and Beaufort. This scheme frightened Richard so much that he for a time, as his wife was dead, thought of marrying Elizabeth himself. He even seems to have won the favour of the late queen, but the suggestion came to nothing.

Richmond's invasion.

Meanwhile Richmond had not been idle. With the aid of the Earl of Oxford, he had collected forces in France, and in August, 1485, he landed at Milford Haven, in Wales. Thence he marched to Stafford, where he was assured of the support of the Lord Stanley, who was, however, unable to join him openly, because Richard had seized his eldest son as a hostage. Meanwhile Richard was joined by John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Northumberland, and collected his forces at Leicester. Thence he marched to fight Richmond at Bosworth Field.

In the battle that followed Norfolk fought bravely, but Stanley

went over to the enemy, and Northumberland, whose family had always been Lancastrian, stood aloof. The fight raged chiefly between Richard's own followers and those of Richmond. The king made terrible exertions, and was within an ace of slaying Richmond with his own hand, when he was overwhelmed by numbers and slain. The armies which fought at Bosworth were very small, and very little interest seems to have been excited by the struggle. There was no question of principle between the parties, and Englishmen were as likely to get good government from one as from the other.

Battle of Bosworth.

In after-times it was the fashion to charge Richard III. with every species of crime. This was probably unjust. He was an unscrupulous man, who slew men freely if they stood in his way, but not a tyrant; and when we think of the times in which he lived and the scenes he had witnessed, it could hardly be wonderful that his scruples were not so great as they might have been if his lot had been cast in times of greater quietness.

Richard's reputation.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS UNDER THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.

Statute De Heretico Comburendo passed	1401
Glendower rebels	1402
Percies' rebellion	1403
Scrope's rebellion	1405
James of Scotland captured	1405
Meeting of Lollards at St. Giles's Fields	1414
Hundred Years' War renewed	1415
Earl of Cambridge's conspiracy	1415
Franchise in counties restricted to 40*s.* freeholders	1430
Marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou	1445
Impeachment and death of Suffolk	1450
Cade's rebellion	—
Wars of the Roses begin	1455
Warwick's rebellion	1470
Disappearance of the princes	1483
Stafford's rebellion	—

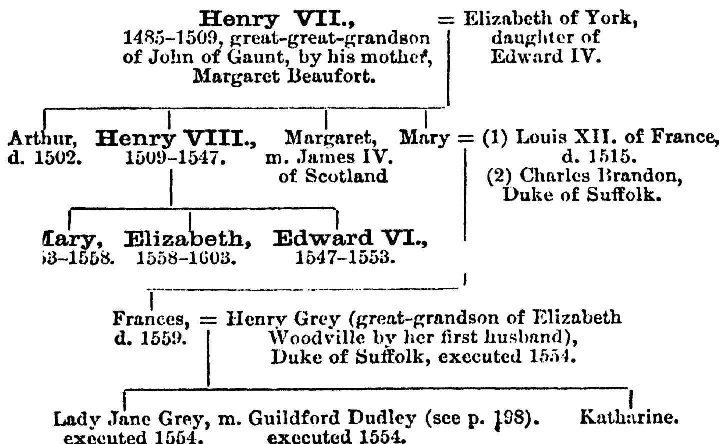
CHIEF BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES UNDER THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.

Battles of Nesbit Moor and of Homildon Hill	1402
" Shrewsbury	1403
" Bramham Moor	1408
Siege of Harfleur	1415
Battle of Agincourt	——
Siege of Rouen by the English	1419
Treaty of Troyes	1420
Battle of Beaugé	1421
Siege of Meaux	——
Battle of Crevant	1423
" Verneuil	1424
Siege of Orleans	1428–9
Battles of the Herrings and of Patay	1429
Battle of Sevenoaks	1450
" St. Alban's (1st)	1455
" Bloreheath	1459
Battles of Northampton and Wakefield	1460
Battle of Mortimer's Cross	1461
" St. Alban's (2nd)	——
" Towton	——
Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham	1464
Battle of Losecoat Field	1469
" Barnet	1471
" Tewkesbury	1471
Treaty of Pecquigny	1475
Battle of Bosworth	1485

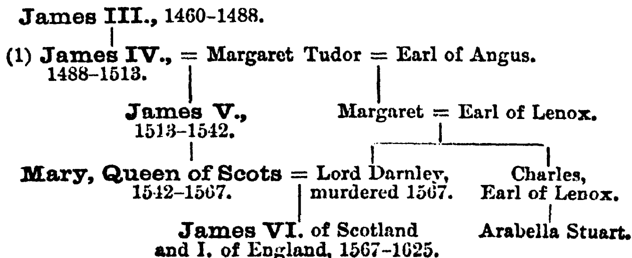
BOOK VI

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR

XIV.—THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.



XV.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1460–1603.



XVI.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 1483-1603.

Charles VIII., great-grandson of Charles VI.
1483-1498.

Succeeded by **Louis XII.**, great-grandson of Louis, Duke of Orleans,
1498-1515. brother of Charles VI.

Claude = **Francis I.**, also great-grandson of Louis,
1515-1547. Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI.

Henry II., 1547-1559. = Katharine de Medici.

- **Francis II.**, 1559-1560, m. Mary, Queen of Scots.
- **Charles IX.**, 1560-1574.
- **Henry III.**, 1574-1589, suitor of Queen Elizabeth.
- Francis, Duke of Alençon, suitor of Queen Elizabeth, d. 1584.
- Margaret, m. **Henry IV.**, 1589-1610, descendant of Robert, the son of St. Louis and heir to French throne, all the intermediate branches being extinct.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII., 1485–1509 (24 years).
Born 1456; married, 1486, Elizabeth of York.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Archbishop Morton; Edward Plantagenet; Lambert Simnel; Perkin Warbeck; Sir William Stanley; Sir Edward Poynings.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.
James III., d. 1488.	Charles VIII., d. 1498.	Ferdinand and Isabella,
James IV., d. 1513.	Louis XII., d. 1515.	1479–1516, d. 1504.

HENRY VII. claimed the crown on three grounds—right of birth, right of conquest, and approval by Parliament; and, to give the sanction of religion to his succession, he had it confirmed by the pope. After he had gained possession of the throne, he strengthened himself by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., but he was careful not to allow her claims to rival or even support his own.

Henry's claims to the throne.

The new king was, above all things, a far-sighted statesman, and he set before himself three objects to which he steadily adhered: first, by rooting out all rivals, to secure the throne to himself and his family; second, to strengthen the power of the crown by depressing that of the nobility; third, to take an active part in European politics. These three aims he handed down to his successors, and all the Tudors, as his family were called after Edmund Tudor, Henry's father, kept them in view. They regarded themselves as the champions of the orderly classes against the disorderly, and therefore we find that, under them, executions of noblemen and thieves were frequent, because one endangered the peace of the crown, the other the security of property. The middle classes, on the other hand, were contented and prosperous, secure from noblemen's wars and insurrections on one side, or from lawless depredation on the other. With the bulk of the nation, therefore, whose first thought is always for peace and order, all the Tudors, but Mary, in spite of their severity, were popular.

His policy.

Henry's first care was to secure the surviving members of the

house of York. Edward Plantagenet, the son of Clarence and grandson of the Earl of Warwick, was at once imprisoned in the Tower, and John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, who had been acknowledged as his heir by Richard III., was induced to give in his submission. Lincoln, however, soon changed his mind, and fled to the court of Margaret of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV., who hated Henry and was always ready to help any Yorkist adventurers. This enmity between the king and the duchess was a serious matter for another reason, for it interfered with trade. The first dangerous insurrection was that carried on under the name of Lambert Simnel, an Oxford boy, who pretended to be Edward Plantagenet, whom every one knew to be imprisoned in the Tower. In Ireland, however, where the Yorkists had been very popular, the imposture was believed, and with a force of Irish and German mercenaries under Lincoln, Michael Schwartz, and Lovel, an old minister of Richard III., he landed near Ulverston, in Lancashire, and marched on London. Henry met him and beat him at Stoke, near Nottingham. Lincoln was killed; Lovel disappeared; Simnel was taken prisoner. Henry showed his contempt for Simnel by making him a scullion, and he also took the politic step of having his queen crowned in order to appeal to the Yorkists.

Secures survivors of the house of York.

Simnel's insurrection.

The next impostor was a young man named Perkin Warbeck, who, in 1492, came forward under the protection of the Duchess of Burgundy, and pretended to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger brother of Edward V., and said to have been murdered with him in the Tower. Henry could not disprove the story, because he was unable to prove the murder. Few doubted the fact; but it was not till 1502 that Tyrrel's confession threw light on the subject, and even then no bodies could be found; indeed, it was not till the time of Charles II. that two skeletons answering to the size of the princes were discovered. The consequence was that Warbeck received much support. He was well received in Ireland, where the Yorkists were popular, and then went to France, where he was received by the king, because Henry had sent troops to help the Duchess of Brittany against the French. Henry on this made peace with France for a large sum of money, and Warbeck was obliged to take

Perkin Warbeck's insurrection.

refuge in Flanders. For three years he stayed there, and then Philip, Duke of Burgundy, fearful of losing the wool trade, made a commercial treaty, called the "Great Intercourse," with Henry, by which it was agreed that the trade should be renewed and that no more help should be given to Warbeck. From Flanders Warbeck moved to Ireland, and thence to Scotland, where he was helped by James IV. to ravage the northern counties of England. Nothing came of this, so he went to Ireland. There he learnt that there had been a rebellion in Cornwall.

This happened in 1497, and was caused by an attempt to levy taxes on the ground of the Scottish raid. The Cornishmen marched to Blackheath, but were there beaten by Henry, who had provided himself with a train of artillery. After all was over Warbeck landed in Cornwall, and tried to renew the insurrection. He had some success, but fled when the royal troops came near, and was soon captured and imprisoned in the Tower. There he made friends with Edward Plantagenet, and they agreed to escape together; and this gave Henry the opportunity of getting rid of them both, which was accomplished in 1499. Seven years later, Henry contrived to get into his hands the Earl of Suffolk, a younger brother of John, Earl of Lincoln, on condition that he spared his life. He kept his promise, but advised his son Henry VIII. to have Suffolk put to death, which was done in 1513.

Cornish rebellion.

The weakness of the royal authority in Ireland, and the strength of the Yorkist feeling there, caused Henry, in 1494, to send over as deputy Sir Edward Poynings, who induced the Irish Parliament to pass an act forbidding any bill to be brought into the Irish Parliament unless it had received the consent of the king's English council. This is called Poynings' Law, and it remained in force for nearly three hundred years.

All this time Henry had not lost sight of his second object, the depression of the nobility. Parliament readily renewed Richard III.'s law against keeping retainers. But the real difficulty was not to pass the law, but to enforce it, and for this purpose Henry set up a new court. This court was intended for the trial of offenders whose crimes were too subtle, or who were themselves too powerful, to be tried at the regular assizes. In theory it was a revival of the judicial

Court of Star Chamber set up.

power of the king's privy council. The court was composed of the chief officers of state, with several judges, and any others whom the king chose to appoint. It summoned offenders before it, and tried them without a jury. It was said to be aimed particularly at "stout gentlemen of the north of England," then the most unruly part of the kingdom, at sheriffs who impanelled juries unfairly, at inciters of riots, keepers of retainers, and similar offenders. This court, which was afterwards known as the hated Star Chamber, was at first very useful, so long as it was used in the interests of the orderly against the disorderly, and it is said that much of the quiet which was maintained during the difficult times of the Reformation was due to its effects.

Treatment of nobles.

Two instances may be noted as specimens of Henry's dealing with his nobles. On the occasion of a visit to the Earl of Oxford, one of the most noted warriors on the Lancastrian side, he passed through lines of men in livery. "These are your servants?" said the king. "Sir, they are my retainers," replied the earl. "Thank you for your hospitality, my lord," said the king; "but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." For keeping retainers Oxford was fined £10,000. On another occasion Henry learnt from his spies that Sir William Stanley, brother of the Earl of Derby, one of the richest and therefore one of the most dangerous men in England, was corresponding with Warbeck. He was instantly tried and executed, and his wealth was added to the royal treasures. In this way Henry steadily enriched himself at the expense of his turbulent nobles.

"Morton's Fork."

Like Edward IV., Henry made the merchants pay well for the security they enjoyed, by giving him benevolences. Morton, now Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, invented a most ingenious plan of suiting his method of asking to the habits of each. If a man spent much, he was told he could well afford more for the king and less for himself; if he spent little, that he could give out of his savings. This dilemma was called "Morton's Fork."

How Henry filled his coffers.

Henry also added to his wealth by enforcing to the utmost the strict letter of the feudal law, and in this his chief agents were Empson and Dudley, two lawyers who were bitterly hated for their extortion. The Parliament were still ready to vote money

for war with France, and on several occasions Henry obtained grants for that purpose, and then, making peace for the sake of a gift from the French king, he put both the grant and the gift into his exchequer. Thus Henry provided himself with a well-filled treasury, by which his position was much secured. By establishing the Star Chamber, he secured a law court independent of popular feeling, and by filling his coffers he freed himself from the control of Parliament, so that he took two long strides towards making himself absolute.

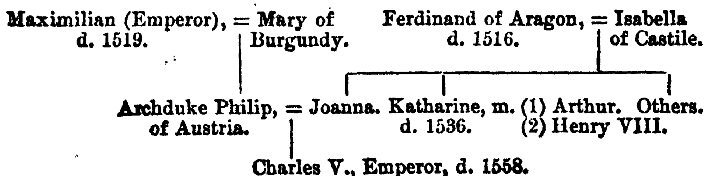
Foreign policy.

The great power which Henry had thus gained in England enabled him to interfere with effect in the affairs of the Continent. At this time France and Spain had become much more powerful than they had been formerly, and were ambitious of seizing territories in Italy. The result was that, for the first time in European history, great alliances were formed to effect objects in which all Europe was interested.

European alliance against France.

The great question of the day was whether the French should be allowed to annex some of the Italian states, especially Milan; and Ferdinand of Aragon, who claimed Naples and Sicily, and the Emperor Maximilian, who claimed authority over Northern Italy, were wishful to prevent this. Maximilian had married Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. The child of Maximilian and Mary was Philip, Duke of Burgundy, who, by right of his mother, owned the Netherlands, and hoped some day to be head of the house of Austria, and perhaps emperor. On the other hand, Ferdinand of Aragon and his wife, Isabella of Castile, had a numerous family, and they arranged a marriage between Philip and their eldest daughter Joanna. Presently their only son John died, so Joanna became their heiress. The son of Philip and Joanna was Charles V.,[1] who was thus heir to Burgundy,

[1] GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V.



Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain. Ferdinand married another daughter to the King of Portugal, and on her death the pope allowed a younger sister to take her place. Ferdinand had only one more daughter, Katharine.

Ferdinand and Philip both wished that Henry VII. would ally with them against France, and for that end a marriage was arranged in 1501 between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katharine of Aragon. Soon after his marriage Arthur died, and as Ferdinand had no more daughters, it was arranged that, by a dispensation from the pope, Katharine should be married to Henry, the only other son of Henry VII., so that the alliance might remain as it was. In 1502 Henry VII., to bring Scotland into the league, married his daughter Margaret to James IV., King of Scotland, hoping that this would detach the Scots from their old friendship with the French. In this way almost the whole of Europe was leagued together against France, and shortly after this had been accomplished Henry died in 1509.

Marriage of Prince Arthur.

Death of Henry.

The reign of Henry VII. is remarkable for having witnessed some of the greatest events in modern history. In 1492 Columbus discovered the West Indian Islands; in 1497 John Cabot, an Italian, with a Bristol ship and Bristol sailors, reached the mainland of America; and before Henry died the greater part of the eastern coast of North and South America had been examined by Englishmen, Portuguese, or Spaniards. In 1497 Vasco de Gama, sailing from Lisbon, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made his way to India by sea. These discoveries were due indirectly to the conquest of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean by the Turks, who took Constantinople in 1453. Their cruelty and extortion prevented merchants from following the overland route to India. This forced traders to seek for a road to India by sea, and it was in pursuit of this that the voyages of Columbus and Vasco de Gama were made. These discoveries had the greatest effect upon the history of Europe. Hitherto the countries which lay round the Mediterranean Sea had been most important; they now began to be outstripped by those which lay on or near the Atlantic and Spain, Portugal, England, and Holland became the chief trading nations of the world.

During the same reign a great revival of learning occurred in England. This spread from Italy, which was then the most learned and civilized nation in Europe, and a great stimulus had been given to it by the study of Greek and Roman writers, while the invention by Gutenberg of Mainz in 1442, of the art of printing by movable types, had made it cheaper to copy books. The invention of gunpowder, which had been coming into use since the middle of the fourteenth century, gradually changed the art of war, and destroyed the power of the old armoured knights, and of the archers with their bows and arrows. (The discovery of America and the new route to India, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the revival of learning, and the inventions of printing and gunpowder, are the great events which mark the change from mediæval to modern Europe, and their influence began to make itself felt in England in the reign of Henry VII.)

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII., 1509–1547 (38 years).

Born 1491; married,
- 1509, Katharine of Aragon, d. 1536.
- 1532, Anne Boleyn, executed 1536.
- 1536, Jane Seymour, d. 1537.
- 1540, Anne of Cleves, divorced 1540.
- 1540, Katharine Howard, executed 1542.
- 1543, Katharine Parr, survived her husband.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Cardinal Wolsey; Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; Sir Thomas More; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Cromwell; Robert Aske; Edward Seymour, Lord Hertford; Henry Howard, Lord Surrey; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.	Pope.
James IV., d. 1513.	Louis XII., d. 1515.	Charles V.,	Clement VII.,
James V., d. 1542.	Francis I., d. 1547.	1516–1556.	1523–1534.
Mary, deposed 1567.			

HENRY VIII. was only eighteen when he came to the throne, and his accession made little difference in the general course of events. He followed his father's foreign policy by completing his marriage with Katharine, and his domestic policy by executing the Earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward IV., who had been surrendered by Philip of Burgundy; while he tried to win popularity by having Empson and Dudley executed on an absurd charge of high treason, and by making a lavish display of his father's treasure. In accordance with the views of the league, Henry in 1513 invaded France, besieged Therouenne, and won the battle of Guinegaste, which the French laughingly called the "Battle of the Spurs," because they used their spurs more than their swords. The same year, in spite of the marriage between James IV. and Margaret of England, the Scots invaded England after their usual manner, as allies of France.

Henry follows his father's policy.

Battle of Guinegaste, 1513.

The Scots posted themselves on Flodden Edge, a strong position overlooking the deep river Till, which flows almost due north from the Cheviot Hills to fall into the Tweed. The English general, Lord Surrey, finding the Scots too securely posted to be attacked

with success, marched past them, and crossing the Till at Twizell Mill near its junction with the Tweed, placed himself between the Scots and Scotland. The Scots were thus forced to fight at great disadvantage, and, in spite of all their bravery, they were surrounded by the English host, and few survivors made their way to Scotland. Among those who

Battle of Flodden, Sept. 1513.



MAP OF THE FLODDEN DISTRICT.

perished were James IV. himself, and the flower of the Scottish nobility. James was succeeded by his infant son, under the care of Margaret of England, and for many years Scotland was too weak to be a danger to England.

Neither Henry VIII. nor his subjects were prepared to undertake the conquest of France. Maximilian and Ferdinand did little to help, and so, in 1514, Henry made peace, and married his youngest sister Mary to the French king, Louis XII. Unfortunately, Louis died three months after his marriage, and Mary then married Charles Brandon, created Duke of Suffolk, by whom she became the ancestress of Lady Jane Grey. Louis was succeeded in 1515 by his young cousin Francis I., who inherited all his ambitious schemes.

Peace with France concluded.

During the first twenty years of this reign, the most striking figure in England was Thomas Wolsey. This statesman was born at Ipswich, in 1471. His father, though not a man of rank, gave him the best education in his

Thomas Wolsey.

power, and sent him to Magdalen College, Oxford. He arrived there at the moment when the English universities were beginning to catch some of the enthusiasm for learning for which Italy was then famous. He became a Bachelor of Arts at fourteen, and was afterwards made fellow and tutor of Magdalen College. It was in his time that the beautiful tower of that college was built. His post of tutor gained him the friendship of the Marquess of Dorset, whose sons were at the college. By him Wolsey was presented to a living, and was brought to the notice of Henry VII., under whom his rise was rapid. His ability for business was very great; he was hard working, and he knew no scruple in forwarding the views of the king. Under Henry VIII. he advanced to greater favour, and in 1515 he was made Chancellor. The next year the pope made him cardinal, and in 1517, by the special request of Henry, papal legate. It ought to be noticed that the chief power, both in ecclesiastical and civil matters, was thus united in the hands of the first minister of the crown, and as this went on for fourteen years, people became accustomed to look to the king's leading minister as chief man both in Church and State.

Wolsey's schemes.

Wolsey had in view three objects: (1) to increase the power of the crown, as Henry VII. had done; (2) to improve the state of the Church of England, by abolishing some of the smaller monasteries, and applying their revenues to the foundation of colleges and schools, where the new learning could be taught; (3) to become, if possible, pope, and so to gain control over the general reformation of the Church which he saw was impending, and which began under Luther in Germany in 1517. We may call these plans ambitious if we like; but they were certainly the views of a great man, and had they been carried into effect, both England and Europe might have had a very different history.

Wolsey's foreign schemes.

Wolsey saw that he might make his third scheme fit in with Henry's desire to play an active part on the Continent, and so he furthered the king's wishes in this respect. In 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, and a new election followed. The emperor was elected by seven persons—the Archbishops of Mainz, Köln, and Trier,[1] and

[1] The French spelling of these towns is Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves.

by the Electors of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate. These chose a king of Germany, who had a right to demand coronation at the hands of the pope; and when he had received this he was looked on as the successor of the Roman emperors of the West. Charles of Spain, Francis of France, and Henry of England all came forward as candidates; the electors chose Charles of Spain. This had the result of uniting together Spain, Holland, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Naples in one vast dominion. Now, the Italian question was certain to bring about war between Francis and Charles, and it was uncertain which Henry would join. Both made him offers. Francis entertained him at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold"; Charles came over to England to visit the husband of his aunt Katharine. Finally the relationship between Henry and Charles, and the importance of the Flemish trade, won England for the Spanish alliance. For some time Henry held to this, and even sent in 1522 and 1523 small expeditions to France. But two events changed England's policy. Charles failed to secure the Papacy for Wolsey; and, secondly, Charles beat Francis so completely at the battle of Pavia, that there seemed to be danger lest all Europe should fall under his complete control. In the time of Henry V. the weakness of France would have seemed a good reason for prosecuting the claim of the English kings to the crown; but Wolsey did not think so. He was the first English statesman who grasped the idea of the balance of power, in the sense that if one European state shows symptoms of reaching such a power as to threaten the liberties of the others, they should all combine to balance her strength by their union. According to this policy Henry and Wolsey joined France, and Charles was soon obliged to release Francis.

Alliance with Spain.

Battle of Pavia, 1525.

Alliance with France.

While engaged in his Continental schemes, Wolsey had not lost sight of his plans for reform at home. He had gained from the pope authority to suppress some of the smaller monasteries, and had begun to use the money he thus gained to found a new school at Ipswich, and a college in Oxford, on the model of Winchester College and New College, which had been founded by William of Wykeham.

Reform at home.

Meanwhile a very serious question was coming to the front in

England. Henry and Katharine had been married a long time, and though they had had many children, all had died, except one delicate girl, the Lady Mary. If Henry died without children, there would probably be a dispute about the succession; and even if he left a daughter, no one doubted that very difficult times would follow.

Difficulty about the succession.

The danger was so serious that Henry, in 1521, took an opportunity, on a charge of high treason, to get rid of Edward, third Duke of Buckingham, who, as a descendant of Edward III., would have been very likely to put forward his claims, especially as, by one act or another, all the members of the royal family who stood between him and the throne had been either declared illegitimate or attainted. If we remember that the legality of Henry's marriage with Katharine, though sanctioned by the pope, might still be disputed, it is plain that the situation was very serious. These were considerations of state; but when Henry himself grew tired of Katharine, and wanted to marry some one else, it became of the utmost importance that the question whether his present marriage was legal should be expeditiously settled one way or another. Wolsey was in favour of the divorce, as he wished the king to marry a French princess, and he is said to have exclaimed, "If I could see the king well married and the Church reformed, I could die happy."

Execution of Edward, Duke of Buckingham.

The natural course, under the circumstances, was to appeal to the pope; and this Henry did. Under ordinary circumstances, the pope would probably have made no difficulty; but the circumstances were not ordinary, for Pope Clement VII. was imprisoned by Charles' troops in the castle of St. Angelo, at Rome, and the emperor was all powerful in Italy. Hence Clement was afraid to offend Charles by divorcing his aunt Katharine. At the same time, he did not wish to offend Henry and Francis, who might help him against the emperor, and consequently he tried to please both and to gain time by doing nothing. Accordingly, he sent Cardinal Campeggio as his legate to try the case in England with Wolsey; and when Queen Katharine appealed to have the case tried in Rome, the pope called the case thither in 1529.

Pope appealed to about the divorce.

Pope calls the case to Rome.

This course was fatal both to Wolsey and to the Papal power; for the king determined to put in force the Act of Praemunire, which allowed him to forbid either appeals to Rome or the receiving of letters from Rome. In spite of the fact that Wolsey had been made cardinal and legate by his special request, Henry accused Wolsey of violating this act.

The king puts the Act of Praemunire in force.

In a contest with the pope, Henry felt the need of having England at his back; and though, like Edward IV. and Henry VII., he had hitherto summoned few Parliaments, he now called one together in 1529. This sat, not as previous Parliaments had done, for a month or two, but for seven years, and carried out one of the greatest revolutions in English history. No doubt Henry took good care to get members elected whom he could trust; but he need have had no fear of trusting his subjects to help him in attacking the pope or reforming Church abuses. The Church had been unpopular for years, and, as we saw in the time of Henry IV., Parliament had only been held back by the authority of the king himself from confiscating its property.

Parliament called.

Of course Henry's wrath fell on Wolsey, who had, he thought, played him false. He was dismissed from his office and from court, and his place was taken by Sir Thomas More, a lawyer who had written "Utopia," a book which, under the form of a description of an ideal commonwealth, was a satire on the abuses of the time. Within a year Wolsey was sent for to London to answer a charge of high treason. However, he was fortunate enough to die on the road, at Leicester Abbey.

Wolsey's fall.

The Church of England was connected with the Papacy by the following ties. In the first place, the pope was theoretically head of the Catholic Church, to which all England had belonged since the Synod of Whitby. Secondly, though by the Act of Praemunire the king might prohibit it, appeals had constantly gone from the English ecclesiastical courts to Rome. Thirdly, large taxes, called tenths and firstfruits, had been paid by the clergy, and Peter's pence by the laity. Fourthly, the pope had practically appointed the English bishops and a good many of the English clergy, though forbidden

Connection of the Church of England with Rome.

to do so by the Act of Provisors. All these links were swept away by the Parliament of 1529.

We saw that Wolsey had incurred the penalties of Praemunire by accepting from the pope the office of papal legate. By the strict letter of the law, the clergy who had acknowledged him in this capacity had made themselves liable to the same penalties, by which their goods were liable to be forfeited to the king, and themselves to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Henry had no scruple in using this weapon, and forced the representatives of the clergy assembled in convocation to address him as "Supreme Head of the Church and clergy;" but they bravely added the words, "so far as the law of Christ will allow." The Parliament then set itself to sever the other links. In 1532 an act for restraining all appeals to Rome was passed. In 1534 another act forbade the payments of tenths to Rome, and at the same time the pope's power of influencing the election of bishops was done away with. It must not, however, be supposed that the clergy were allowed either to keep the tenths or to elect whom they pleased. On the contrary, they had to pay the tenths to Henry's exchequer, and the king from this time forward managed the election of the bishops thus. When a see became vacant, the king sent to the dean and chapter a letter, called a *congé d'élire*, authorizing them to elect a new bishop. At the same time, he sent another letter, called a letter missive, suggesting whom they should elect. If the man named were not chosen, the whole chapter would incur the penalties of Praemunire. There has never yet been an instance of refusal. To complete the separation, in 1534 an act was passed abolishing the authority of the pope in England; and the next year, by the Act of Supremacy, Henry took the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

Henry becomes "Head of the Church."

Acts to separate the Church of England from the pope.

Election of bishops.

While these acts were being passed to separate the Church of England from the pope, another series of acts had reformed the abuses in the discipline of the clergy. We saw that in the time of Wycliffe there had been good ground for complaint, and there is nothing to show that things were any better since his time. The first of these acts regulated the fees

Church discipline.

which the clergy had been in the habit of exacting from the people for performing religious services. A second forbade clergymen to hold several livings at once, which had been a cause of great scandal. A third reformed the spiritual courts and strengthened the old mortmain statutes, which forbade lands being given to the clergy. A fourth did away with the abuses of benefit of clergy, by which, since the murder of Becket, the clerical offenders had been tried and punished by the bishops, and not by the ordinary law of the land. These reforms seem to have been very much needed, and to have been all steps in the right direction.

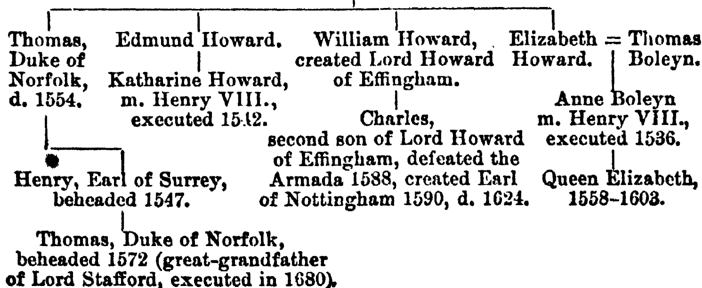
Henry's marriages.

Meanwhile Henry had not been fortunate about his divorce. At the suggestion of a Cambridge scholar named Cranmer, he had appealed to the universities of Europe to say whether the pope could allow a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. Their answers were not conclusive, but as soon as the act forbidding appeals to Rome was passed, Henry had the case tried before Cranmer, whom he had made Archbishop of Canterbury, in the ordinary archbishop's court. Of course the decision was in his favour, and Henry acknowledged his marriage with Anne Boleyn, a lady of the family of Howard,[1] to whom he had been long attached. Anne soon became the mother of a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth.

THE HOWARDS.

John Howard,
created Duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth 1485.

Thomas, Earl of Surrey,
won battle of Flodden 1513, restored to the dukedom 1514, d. 1514.



Parliament then passed an act settling the succession on the children of Henry and Anne. Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, refused to accept this act, and were sent to the Tower. A year later they were both executed, nominally for high treason, in reality because they disapproved of what Henry was doing. Unfortunately, before a prince was born to inherit the throne, Henry became jealous of Anne. Probably she had only been foolishly indiscreet; but the matter was serious, and she was executed. Two days afterwards Henry married another lady, Jane Seymour. By her he had a son, born in 1537; and as Katharine had died before Anne Boleyn's fall, there could be no doubt that this prince was heir to the throne, so that the succession difficulty was over for the present. Unfortunately, the queen died soon after the birth of her son, and Henry did not marry again for some time.

Execution of Anne Boleyn.

After the fall of Sir Thomas More, the chief adviser of the king was Thomas Cromwell. He had been a dependent of Wolsey's, and, like More, he was a layman. He was an able man, devoted to the king's interests. With his aid the king proceeded to attack the monasteries.

Thomas Cromwell.

At this time there were in England more than six hundred monastic houses, where dwelt men and women who had taken the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. The oldest of the orders was the Benedictine, founded in the sixth century by St. Benedict, the patriarch of Western Monasticism. Its houses were usually in populous towns, which had often grown up around them. Of their abbeys, Westminster is an example. Branches of this order were the Clugniac, founded during the eleventh century, which took its name from the French abbey of Clugny, and the Cistercian, called from the abbey of Cîteaux, founded at the close of the eleventh century by Stephen Harding, an Englishman. The Cistercian monasteries were built in out-of-the-way places, which were reclaimed by the monks, and of these Fountains, Tintern, and Furness are examples. Next to these orders stood the Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons, of which the houses at Bristol and Chichester are specimens. During the crusades were founded the military orders, of which the chief

Religious orders.

were the Templars, whose principal house was the Temple in London, and the knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, one of whose houses was at Clerkenwell. The Templars, however, had been dissolved in the time of Edward II. Next came the mendicant friars, who had houses in every important town. Their chief orders were the Grey Friars, or Franciscans, founded by an Italian, St. Francis, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the Dominicans, or Black Friars, founded about the same time by St. Dominic, a Spaniard. The monks and nuns lived by themselves within the walls of their monasteries, but the friars travelled from place to place, living upon alms, and only used their houses as headquarters.

Henry attacks the monasteries.

There was much to be said for and against the monasteries. In a rude age they had done good service as retreats for men of peace and learning; but their place had now been taken by the universities, and Wolsey, as we have seen, had recognized that some of their wealth, at any rate, might be better employed in supporting colleges and schools. Thus from the point of view of the men of the new learning, they were behind the age. Others, no doubt, looked at them as valuable institutions, which diffused some culture in country places, educated the children of their neighbours, sent poor lads to the university and maintained them there, relieved the distressed, succoured the wayfarer, and performed a number of kindly offices which could ill be spared. Neither of these views was, we fear, taken by the majority. The needy king saw in the wealth of the monasteries a good reason for their fall; members of Parliament thought that, if this wealth were given to the king, there would be no more need for taxes; while, doubtless, many coveted the lands of the monks and hoped to profit by their misfortunes.

Commission sent to inquire into state of monasteries.

Actuated by these diverse feelings, the government sent a commission to inquire into the state of the monasteries. Their condition was probably no better and no worse than it had long been. The larger were for the most part in good order, the smaller were frequently full of abuses; but sufficient evidence was got to afford a pretext for what was wanted, and by Act of Parliament in 1536, the smaller monasteries were dissolved. Their fate frightened many of the greater ones into

voluntary submission; some were cajoled into making what they believed was a formal surrender; the abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, were indicted for treason and executed; and in 1539 another act was passed, authorizing the surrender to the king of all the property of the remaining monastic institutions. Doubtless the more honourable statesmen hoped that the money thus obtained would be used for the good of the nation as a whole. Plans were brought forward to increase the number of bishoprics, and to found colleges and schools. Unfortunately, very little was done in this way; only six new bishoprics were created; and the money did not even go to form a permanent fund for the reduction of taxation. Some was spent on the fortification of the coast, but most of it found its way into the pockets of the king's courtiers, and helped to make the fortunes of a new nobility devoted to the interests of the reformation; and such families as the Cavendishes, the Russells, the Seymours, the Dudleys, and the Cecils, whose wealth was gained from this source, began to take the place of the old nobility of England, of whom the family of Howard, though their title only dated from the reign of Edward IV., were the chief representatives.

Dissolution of the Monasteries.

How the money was applied.

The proceedings of Henry and the Parliament in the matter of the divorce, the separation from Rome, and the abolition of the monasteries, did not pass without disturbance. So early as 1534 a half-witted girl, commonly called the Nun of Kent, who in her fits had spoken strongly against the divorce, and had been made the tool of the disaffected priests, was executed. In 1535, the execution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher showed that the most accomplished layman of his day, and one of the most learned of ecclesiastics, were not prepared to join a movement which they thought schismatic. In 1536 the northern counties, where the monks were more popular than in the south, rose in rebellion, under a lawyer, Robert Aske, against the suppression of the lesser monasteries. This movement was called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The leaders, Aske, Darcy, and Constable, with four abbots, were

Disturbances caused by proceedings of Henry and Parliament.

The "Pilgrimage" of Grace.

executed, but the common people were treated with leniency. One result of this rebellion was the institution of the Council of the North, a committee of the Privy Council, which henceforth sat for four months of the year, at York, Hull, Newcastle, and Durham.

Council of the North.

The severance of the connection between England and Rome, and the attacks which had been made on the clergy, naturally encouraged the party which took their ideas partly from the German reformation, partly from the lingering traditions of Lollardism; and an impetus had been given to these ideas by an English translation of the Bible being allowed to be set up in the churches in 1536. Such a movement towards Protestantism formed no part of Henry's plan. To the end of his life he was a Catholic, and in 1539 an act was passed to put a stop to the movement. This law passed Parliament by acclamation, and imposed on the nation Six Articles of doctrine and observance, of which the most important were—the belief in transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession. It was determined that these should be believed in and practised; and when parliament sent to execution at the same time three men for denying the royal supremacy, and three for denying the truth of transubstantiation, it exactly showed what its own attitude was.

Movement towards Protestantism.

For some time after the death of Jane, Henry remained unmarried, but in 1539 he was persuaded to accept in marriage Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves—a small territory on the Rhine. Cromwell devised this match, because he wanted Henry to make common cause with the German Protestant princes who had formed a league against Charles V. Unluckily for Cromwell, his scheme of an alliance against Charles failed; and when Anne arrived, her person was distasteful to the king. The matter was easily arranged. Anne was divorced and provided for by a pension; but Cromwell lost his head. His enemies were only too glad to attack him, and when the king's favour was withdrawn, an act of attainder brought his career to a close, in 1540. The king then pleased the old nobility by marrying Katharine Howard. Unfortunately, after two years the king found that she had behaved badly

Marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves.

Execution of Thomas Cromwell.

Marriage with Katharine Howard.

before her marriage, and she was put to death; the king then married Katharine Parr, who survived him.

Marriage with Katharine Parr.

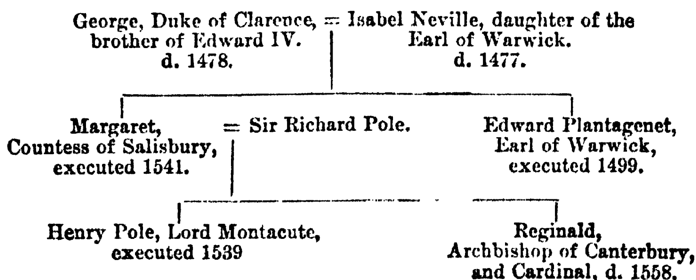
Possibly the difficulties in which Henry had been involved revived the hopes of the Yorkists, and encouraged them to plot against him; perhaps Henry was angry because Reginald Pole, who had written against the divorce, had been made a Cardinal; at any rate in 1538 Henry arrested Pole's mother, the Countess of Salisbury,[1] daughter of the Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV.; her eldest son, Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, and Edward Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter, grandson of Edward IV. All three were executed—the lords in 1539, the Countess in 1541—and after this the rivalry between the two houses of York and Lancaster may be said to disappear.

Execution of Countess of Salisbury.

The confiscation of the property of the monasteries had a bad effect upon Henry and his court. When the money was gone, he looked about for more, and he hit upon the expedient of debasing the coinage. Since the days of Edward III. England had always been very careful to keep up a high standard. On this the credit of a nation depends; for if there is any uncertainty as to the value of money, foreign trade becomes impossible. The old rule was that with every twelve ounces of silver there should be mixed three quarters of an ounce of alloy, in order to make it hard enough to stand wear and tear; but in 1543 Henry paid his creditors with shillings in which the proportion was two ounces of alloy to twelve ounces of silver. From bad he went to worse, and in 1546 he actually issued money in which there were eight ounces of alloy to twelve ounces of silver. Naturally Henry

Debasement of the coinage.

[1] THE POLES.



saved by this, but it was killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. Trade was ruined; no one would buy who could help it, for no one knew the value of money. The cost of provisions rose manifold, and the distress of the poor was terrible, for wages never rise so fast as the cost of provisions. Naturally beggary and robbery increased apace.

The last few years of Henry's reign were remarkable for several steps in the direction of the union of the British Isles. In 1536

Wales and Ireland.

Wales was completely united to England in matters of law, and began to send thirty-seven members to the United Parliament. A committee of the Privy Council for Wales began to sit at Ludlow, as the Council of the North did for the northern counties. In 1542 Henry took the title of "King of Ireland;" his predecessors had merely styled themselves "Lord." Since Flodden there had been no regular war between England

Scotland.

and Scotland, though the border lords had been constantly at strife, but in 1542 their quarrels resulted in regular war. James V., Henry's nephew, was not popular with his

Battle of Solway Moss.

subjects, and his troops fled disgracefully at Solway Moss. This broke James' heart, and he died in a few days, leaving his crown to his daughter Mary, an infant of a week old. Henry's great aim now was to marry this child to his son Edward. In 1543 this arrangement was concluded with the chiefs of the English party in Scotland. The French, and the French party in Scotland, headed by Cardinal Beaton, disliked

France and Scotland invaded.

the plan; so in 1544 Henry found himself at war with both France and Scotland. The English invaded Scotland under the command of Lord Hertford, brother of Jane Seymour, and of Lord Lisle, son of the Dudley executed at the beginning of the reign. Edinburgh and Leith were both partly burnt, but this barbarity served only to exasperate the Scots. Meanwhile Henry himself invaded France and took Boulogne.

It now became apparent that Henry's life could not last long, and all parties began to intrigue for the chief power under the expected

Intrigues of the nobles for the chief power.

minority of Edward. If the lot fell to the Howards, there would probably be a reaction towards Rome; if to the new nobility, the reformation might be expected

to go forward in the direction of the Lutheran movement. The new nobility won the day. A trumped-up charge against the Howards, that they quartered on their shield the arms of Edward the Confessor—which they had a right to do—aroused Henry's jealousy for the succession of his son. The Duke of Norfolk himself and his eldest son, the Earl of Surrey, an accomplished poet, but no favourer of reform, were condemned on a charge of treason, and the son was executed. The death of Henry, in 1547, saved Norfolk from the same fate.

Henry's character.

Henry VIII. was one of the most remarkable among the kings of England. His burly figure and strong will have taken firm hold upon the English imagination. Of all the sovereigns who reigned since the organization of Parliament, he was the most absolute. Parliament gave to his proclamations the force of law, and permitted him to leave the kingdom by will. He collected forced loans, set up and pulled down ministers as he chose, and rarely met with any resistance to his wishes, whether he asked Parliament to change some ancient institution, or demanded from the law-courts the condemnation of a wife, a nobleman, or a minister. Of his personal character the most opposite estimates have been formed. Some have represented him as a monster of wickedness, whose only motive was the gratification of his own passions; others, as a sovereign of great ability honestly desirous to do his best for his country. Between these extremes the truth must lie. There is no doubt that in many of his acts personal gratification was the chief incentive: to his ministers he was generous so long as they suited him, ruthless and vindictive when they were no longer necessary; in his family life he was cold, heartless, and unscrupulous; as a king he was arbitrary and capricious; but whether among all these faults there were the redeeming virtues of love for his country and desire to promote her true interests, it is not easy to say, since his character, as that of the king who set on foot the Reformation, has long been a subject of bitter contention between rival parties.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD VI., 1547–1553 (6 years).
Born 1537.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Lord Protector Somerset; Lord Seymour; John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland; Lord Russell; Cranmer; Ket; Lady Jane Grey.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.
Mary, deposed 1567.	Francis I., 1547. Henry II., d. 1559.	Charles V., resigned 1556.

HENRY VIII. left the crown by will to Edward, his son by Jane Seymour. The new king was only nine years old, so the government had to be carried on by others during his minority. To provide for this, Henry had named a council of executors who were to act in Edward's name. From this council the old nobility were excluded; its members were all new men, but as they were equally divided between the old and new opinions, Henry hoped that they would take no decided step, so that when his son came of age he might be free to choose a course for himself. No member of the council was to have precedence over the rest—an arrangement which was further intended to secure a neutral policy during the minority.

Henry's arrangement for the minority of his son.

Hardly, however, was Henry dead when his carefully laid scheme was upset. The men who held the new opinions contrived to get a majority in the council, and the Earl of Hertford, uncle of the king, was appointed protector of the realm. The executors then declared that Henry had intended to raise many of them to higher rank in the peerage, and to give them grants out of the Church lands. Accordingly Hertford was made Duke of Somerset, his brother received the title of Lord Seymour, and Lord Lisle became Earl of Warwick.

Failure of Henry's scheme.

The protector was a remarkable man. His motives appear to have been high, his impulses were generous, his courage was undaunted; but he was not a man of discretion, and consequently, in spite of all his ability, his rule

Character of the protector.

was a failure. In religious matters the policy of Henry VIII. was completely set aside. That king had avoided all changes in religion, and in naming his son's council had been careful to hold the balance between the old and the new religions. The majority of the council threw all their energy into pushing on religious changes. They sent a commission round the country to pull down all images in churches, and to deface the pictures. They abolished the mass, and ordered the service to be said in English. The commissioners carried out their instructions with great severity and amid much disorder, which disgusted reverent people; and the substitution of English for the chanted Latin services, and the destruction of the ornaments, brought home to the country people through their eyes and ears the change which was going on, and caused great excitement and discontent.

Reforms carried out by the council.

At the same time, on the plea that part of their money was spent on masses for the dead, the property of all the guilds was confiscated. The guilds were associations of the merchants and artisans of towns. Their money was spent partly in educating the children of the guildsmen, and training them as workmen, partly in supporting the old and sick, partly in masses for the dead, and partly on feasting and merrymaking. They had existed from very early times, and their spoliation was a great blow to the workmen, for it not only took away what was really their insurance money, but also deprived them of many social advantages. An exception was made in favour of the London guilds, which were too strong to be attacked.

Property of the Guilds taken.

Proceedings in Scotland were equally reckless. Henry VIII. had tried hard to secure a marriage between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Scottish Parliament had given consent in 1543. It is doubtful whether under any circumstances the Scots would have agreed to the marriage; but Somerset, impatient of delay, gathered an army, passed the border at Berwick, and, supported by a fleet, marched along the coast. The English found the Scots posted in a very strong position near Musselburgh, their left resting on the Firth of Forth and defended in front by the river Esk. The Scots were much more numerous than the English, but, overrating their strength, they left their strong post, crossed the Esk near its mouth, and

Invasion of Scotland.

tried to attack the English in such a manner as to hem them in between the hills and the sea. In consequence of this folly, Somerset was able to attack the Scots at an advantage, and, in spite of a slight success at first, they were thoroughly routed. The victory of Pinkie, as it was called, was, however, worse than useless; for the Scots gave up all thought of the marriage, and sent their little queen to be educated in France, where after a time she married the dauphin.

Battle of Pinkie, Sept., 1547.

In 1549 Parliament gave its authority to a new service-book, called the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. This was intended to be used in all churches, and, to enforce its use, an Act of Uniformity was passed. This Prayer-book was founded upon the old Missal and the Breviary, and the work of translation was mainly done by Archbishop Cranmer. It did not follow strictly the views either of the old Catholics, or of those Protestants who took their ideas from the teaching of the Reformers of Geneva. It was revised in 1552, 1559, 1603, and 1662; but its general character has remained the same. At its introduction the book of common prayer was by no means popular, but the beauty of its language and its devotional tone have long endeared it to the members of the Church of England.

First Prayer-book of Edward VI.

Meanwhile the protector was troubled by the ambition of his younger brother, Lord Seymour. This man, who was altogether an inferior character to his brother, was not satisfied with his position, and had long been intriguing to improve it. He first married Katharine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII., and on her death aspired to the hand of the Lady Elizabeth. He also entered into relations with the pirates of the Channel, forged cannon, and collected money and munitions of war. He was arrested, attainted by Act of Parliament, and executed.

Conduct of Lord Seymour.

His execution.

Difficulty next arose in the western counties. There the new service-book had caused great excitement. Within a week of its being first read, the men of Devonshire and Cornwall were in arms demanding the restoration of the mass, the observance of the Six Articles, and all the time-honoured ceremonies of their fathers. For six weeks they

Revolt of the western counties.

besieged Exeter, and when Russell came up with some German troops, whom the government had hired as a standing army, so stoutly did they hold their ground that it was only after a fiercely fought battle at St. Mary's Clyst, in which the English peasants astonished trained soldiers by their steadiness, that the Devonshire men were put down. In the fighting not less than four thousand men were killed.

Battle of St. Mary's Clyst.

The insurrection in the west was religious; in the east it was the enclosure of the commons that drove the people to revolt. Of late years the peasants had had a hard time. Prices had risen, owing to the base coinage issued by Henry VIII. and by Edward VI.'s council; at the same time, there was less demand for labour, for sheep-farms were the fashion, and these required far fewer labourers than arable lands. Commons had been largely enclosed, and though this added to the wealth of the landowners, it was hard for the villagers, who used to turn their pigs and geese to graze on them. Everywhere there was indignation at the conduct of the new landowners, who were seeking to make fortunes out of their lands, instead of keeping to the customs of their steady-going predecessors. Exasperated by their grievances, the peasantry of Norfolk rose under Ket, a tanner, and formed a camp on Mousehold Hill, close to Norwich. There they had the obnoxious gentry of the neighbourhood brought before them, and after conviction imprisoned them in the camp; but they did no murder, and all their proceedings were perfectly orderly. Somerset sympathized with their complaints, and would have liked to redress their grievances. A pardon was offered, but through some misunderstanding was refused. Then the council appealed to arms. The Earl of Warwick was sent against the insurgents, and, as at St. Mary's Clyst, undisciplined valour fell before the skilled coolness of the foreign mercenaries. More than three thousand rebels fell in the fight, and the insurgent counties were severely punished.

Revolt of the eastern counties.

The credit of the suppression of these rebellions fell, not to the protector, but to the council. They had acted while he had hesitated; and, despite his personal popularity, there could be no doubt that his rule had been a failure. Little by little the French king Henry II. had been allowed to make himself master of the outposts of Boulogne, and, much against their

The protector's rule a failure.

will, the council had been forced to declare war against France. The finances were in complete disorder; in all parts of the country there had been riots, and in some insurrections. The protector could not point to anything in which he had achieved solid success.

The protector deprived of power.

The council, therefore, headed by Warwick, determined to take away the powers which Somerset, despite Henry's intentions, had taken upon himself; and though he made what resistance he could, and even thought of an appeal to arms, he was eventually forced to give way, and the councillors again became the sole authority.

The actions of Dudley and the council.

Among them the leader was Dudley, Earl of Warwick.[1] He was an able, unscrupulous man, who aimed at making the fortunes of himself and his family. The first care of the council had to be given to the finances. Unfortunately, they were ignorant of much that is now known about money, and they therefore foolishly debased the coinage in order to increase their funds, made new loans to pay the interest on old ones, and attempted to stop the rise in prices by fixing a maximum rate at which goods should be sold. They, however, wisely made peace with France, and restored Boulogne in return for a sum of money.

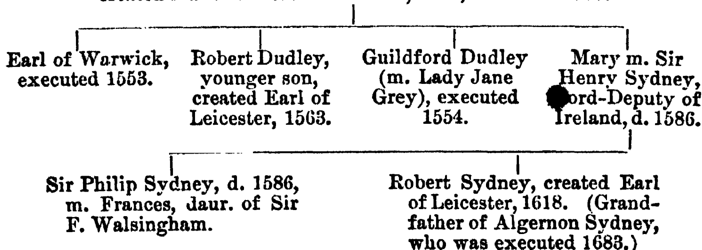
Warwick obliged to ally with the reformers.

To keep his power, Warwick found it needful to ally himself with the advanced reformers. Had he not done so, he must have called in the help of the old nobility, who were totally opposed to the new ways of the

[1] GENEALOGY OF THE DUDLEYS AND THE SYDNEYS.

Edmund Dudley (minister of Henry VII.) executed 1509.

John Dudley (Viscount Lisle, 1542; Earl of Warwick, 1547), created Duke of Northumberland, 1551, executed 1553.



council. This alliance led him to quarrel with the Princess Mary, whom the reformers in the council wished to prevent from hearing mass. Mary, however, was firm, and the council, fearing to get into trouble with Charles the emperor, desisted.

In 1551 Warwick had himself made Duke of Northumberland. He now began to be suspicious of his old rival, Somerset. It was not to be expected that this nobleman would be contented with his fall; but he probably had not advanced further than to form a general plan to change the government in his own favour, when Warwick had him arrested for treason, tried by his peers, convicted of felony, and executed. His popularity was shown by the sympathizing crowd which attended at the scaffold.

Warwick becomes Duke of Northumberland.

Execution of Somerset.

In 1552 Parliament again met. It issued a revised version of the Prayer-book, which is commonly called the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., and coupled it with a new Act of Uniformity. An act was also passed about the trial of persons accused of treason, declaring that in future the accused must be convicted on the evidence of two witnesses at least. Parliament also took in hand the miseries caused by the agricultural changes. It enacted that alms were to be collected for the poor of each parish; and commissioners were to see what could be done for promoting tillage. Under a false conception of its nature, usury or interest was forbidden as "odious and detestable."

Acts of the Parliament of 1552.

Meanwhile the state of the kingdom was going from bad to worse. The lands of the abbeys, the property of the guilds, the bells and plate of the churches, had been seized, and yet the government was deep in debt; the coinage had been debased and its value regulated by government, and yet prices rose and goods were scarce; the Church had been reformed, and yet immorality flourished; the rapacity of the landowners, the greed of merchants who sold badly made goods and destroyed English credit, won little esteem for the new ways. Henry VIII., arbitrary as he was, had always been in sympathy with the people. The councillors had shown themselves to be mere greedy self-seekers, who, under the guise of religion, robbed God and the poor to fill their own pockets.

Condition of the country.

Much was hoped from Edward's rule. Though delicate, he had given much study to affairs of state; his aspirations were noble, and on many points his views were sound. Unfortunately, however, all these hopes were blasted by the news that the young king was likely to fall into an early grave. No one knew what was the nature of his malady, but a terrible cough racked his body, and his strength steadily declined. His condition filled Northumberland with fear. The next sovereign, according to the will of Henry VIII., was to be Mary, and her accession meant his ruin. In his extremity Northumberland attempted a bold game. Though Mary's accession was the wish of the nation, he formed a plan to set her aside; and as the council held the executive power, had under their command a guard of one thousand men, and would have the opportunity of acting first, he had some chance of success. His plan was to replace Mary by her cousin, Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Mary of England, Duchess of Suffolk. Her he married to his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley. Edward's consent was won to this arrangement, and he illegally made a will leaving the crown to his cousin. After this the king grew rapidly weaker, and in July, 1553, he died.

Illness of the king.

Northumberland's plot.

Death of Edward VI.

CHAPTER IV.

MARY, 1553–1558 (5 years).

Born 1516; married, 1554, Philip of Spain.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Bonner, Bishop of London; Renard, Ambassador of Charles V.; Cardinal Pole; Sir Thomas Wyatt; Cranmer; Hooper; Ridley; Latimer.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.
Mary, deposed 1567.	Henry II., d. 1559.	Charles V., resigned 1556. Philip II., d. 1598.

No sooner was Edward dead than Northumberland, concealing the news, sent his son, Lord Warwick, to seize Mary. This precaution should have been taken before, and was now too late; for Mary had early intelligence of her brother's death, and was on her way to Norfolk, where the Howards were expecting her coming. When the king's death could no longer be hidden, Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey as queen. The people listened in respectful silence, but made no demonstration of joy, and one lad boldly shouted, "The Lady Mary has the better title!" for which he was put in the pillory. Jane herself took no delight in her new dignity, but she showed Northumberland that she had no idea of being merely a puppet in his hands, by refusing to allow her husband to be crowned with her without the consent of Parliament.

Flight of Mary to Norfolk.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen.

Having settled matters in London, Northumberland was forced himself to go in pursuit of Mary. As he left London not a voice cried, "God bless him!" and his advance showed him how much he had miscalculated the wishes of the nation. Among the great mass of Englishmen Northumberland and his friends had made themselves thoroughly disliked by the scandalous rapacity which they had shown under the late king; the changes in religion were not at all popular, and the harassed country looked back with regret to the rule of Henry VIII. Of that rule Mary seemed to be the embodiment; she was the true heir according to the natural laws of succession and by Henry VIII.'s will, and the English people had not the least idea of setting her aside

Attitude of the people to Northumberland.

in favour of a lady who, however estimable in herself, could only be regarded as a puppet in the hands of the hated Northumberland.

Failure of Northumberland's plan.

When the duke reached Cambridge he found that the country was rising for Mary, and that his own men would not fight, and at last he himself was obliged to cry, "God save Queen Mary!" In London the council had taken the same line. Northumberland and his friends were soon in prison, and Mary was welcomed with enthusiasm by all but a small knot of reformers. Unfortunately for herself, Mary was misled by her success. The English welcomed her because they thought that she represented the policy which they wanted; but their attachment was not so great that their wishes might safely be disregarded. For the present, however, all went well. Northumberland, as a matter of course, was executed with his son Lord Warwick; but Lady Jane and her husband were merely condemned to death, and sent back to the Tower during her Majesty's pleasure.

Execution of Northumberland.

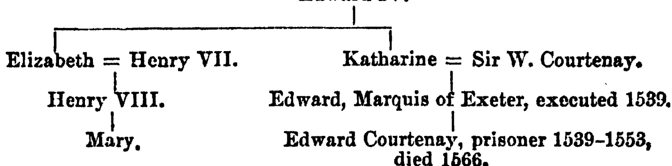
Mary's advisers.

It was Mary's misfortune to suffer from ill advice. The ablest Englishman in her council was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who shared her views on religion; but her chief adviser was Renard, who represented the Emperor Charles V. Renard's great wish was to secure the marriage of Mary to Charles' son Philip, and to destroy every one who might be a source of danger to the throne of Mary or her children. For this end he advised the execution of Lady Jane Grey, and would gladly have put the Lady Elizabeth to death if he could have secured the opportunity.

The country disapproves of the Spanish match.

Mary herself was well inclined to marry Philip, but her subjects disliked the match with a foreigner, and would have preferred Edward Courtenay,[1] Earl of Devon, son of the Marquis of Exeter, executed by

[1] GENEALOGY OF THE COURTENAYS.



Henry VIII., and great-grandson of Edward IV. Mary disliked Courtenay, and, though she had never seen him, took a great fancy to Philip. Neither the English Catholics nor the reformers were pleased, but they could not agree to unite against the marriage; and all chance of successful resistance was destroyed when Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey, and some others rose in rebellion. Wyatt reached London, but was there crushed, chiefly by the resolution of the queen herself; and the other rebellions never were serious.

The complicity of the Duke of Suffolk inclined Mary to listen to Renard's evil counsels, and she executed Lady Jane Grey and her husband; while Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, and every effort made by threat and promise to induce the conspirators to compromise her. Happily evidence was not forthcoming, and Elizabeth's life was saved. After this the Spanish match could no longer be prevented; but Parliament was strong enough to have inserted in the marriage settlement clauses which secured that the queen was to have the sole government of the country, and was not to go abroad, and that England was not to be drawn into any foreign wars in consequence of Philip's affairs.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey.

Attempt to compromise Elizabeth.

The Spanish match concluded.

It is now time to go back to ecclesiastical matters. Mary was strongly of opinion that all the evils which had happened to the country were direct punishments for its apostasy, and she gave her whole soul to an attempt to restore, not only the system of Henry VIII., but also the state of things which he had swept away. Three great steps must be noted.

Mary's religious views.

In 1553 the religious laws of Edward VI. were repealed. In 1554 all the ecclesiastical laws of King Henry VIII. which had been passed since 1529, except so far as they affected the succession of Elizabeth, were annulled; and the same year Reginald Pole, the son of the executed Countess of Salisbury, came back to England as papal legate. The next year the Parliament went further, and revived the Lollard statutes of Henry IV. and Henry V. Thus far they would go, but no further. They would not give up the abbey lands or the other Church property which had passed into the hands of the laity. Mary herself gave up to the pope what remained of the crown's

Ecclesiastical reforms.

share of the spoil, with the tenths and firstfruits which Henry had kept, but she could not induce her subjects to follow her example.

Severity of Mary towards the reformers.

Had Parliament known what use would be made of the Lollard statutes, they would probably have been more cautious in restoring them. They had no love for the new doctrines of the reformers, which had been discredited by the character of Northumberland and his friends, and they probably only expected that a few leading heretics would be destroyed. Such, however, was not the view of Cardinal Pole, or of Bonner and Gardiner, and the queen was as eager as they to extirpate the heresy which she looked on as the curse of the land.

Mary's disappointment.

Mary had just suffered from a terrible disappointment. For months she had expected to have a child. Unhappily she was deceived by the symptoms of an incurable disease, and when the hope was gone, the most charitable view is that her mind was affected. Had a child been born, the succession of Elizabeth, Mary's greatest dread, would have been averted. Day by day she saw how eagerly the nation watched over her sister, whom she had hated from her cradle, and whose very beauty was an eyesore to the withered queen. But it was not to be, and in her grief the wretched woman gave herself up to carry out her false ideas of propitiating Heaven by a wholesale massacre of the Protestants.

Persecution of the Protestants.

Accordingly, no sooner were the statutes passed, than in 1555 the persecution began. The first to suffer was Rogers, Canon of St. Paul's, a translator of the Bible. Then followed Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester; Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's; and many more. Soon the troubles of the emperor caused Philip to quit England, and Mary, in her grief, spurred on the bishops to further exertions. Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, the greatest preacher of his time, were burnt together at Oxford. In 1556 Cranmer was chosen to be the next victim. Unhappily his nerve was not equal to the trial, and he agreed to sign a recantation of his views; but when, in spite of this, his enemies still determined to burn him, he denounced his weakness, and plunged into the flames the unworthy hand which had been the instrument of his fall. Meaner victims followed in scores. But persecution defeated its own end. Men learned to

admire the constancy of the victims, and to believe in a faith for which martyrs could die; and the laity as a whole looked on with disgust, and hoped that the hour of Elizabeth would soon come.

Meanwhile Mary was outstripping her predecessors in contempt for the law. Jurors were sent to prison for returning verdicts against the wish of the court. Members of Parliament were imprisoned for their conduct in the House. Customs duties, unsanctioned by Parliament, were laid on merchandise. Forced loans were levied. Everywhere the royal officers were setting the constitution at defiance. The crown was crippled for money, military stores were rotting, fortresses unrepaired, the fleet unseaworthy. England never saw a more wretched time.

Miserable condition of the country.

Such was the state of things when in 1557 Mary, to please her husband, and in defiance of the marriage settlement, plunged the country into war with France. A few troops joined the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and shared the capture of the town of St. Quentin.

War with France.

This triumph was, however, dearly purchased by the loss of Calais—a fortress as dear to the English of that day as Gibraltar is to us. Its fortifications were out of repair, its garrison was wretchedly small; and when the commanders assured the government that it was going to be attacked, Mary's friends could only answer that they had certain intelligence that it was not. But the commanders were right, and an overwhelming force attacked the fortress by sea and land. Then the government lost their heads; they gave contradictory orders; they found that their ships could not sail, that their men had no arms; and within sight of the English coast a fortress, which had been in our hands for two hundred years, was lost in the year 1558.

Loss of Calais.

The blow was felt terribly in England, by no one more than by Mary herself. Now Calais had fallen, the government were all energy. But the time for action had passed; the winds were unfavourable, a storm destroyed the transports, and although some English ships had the honour of assisting the Spaniards at the battle of Gravelines, Calais had passed irrevocably from our grasp. Mary's health was unfitted to bear the blow. Deserted by her husband, disappointed of children, hated by the subjects whom she

Effect of the loss of Calais on Mary.

Mary's illness.

saw eagerly awaiting the succession of the child of Anne Boleyn, who would sweep away all she thought most dear; with Cardinal Pole, her only trusted friend, stretched on his death-bed, and under censure of the pope for unsoundness of doctrine,—few people have ever lived to see so many hopes blighted in the course of five years as the unhappy Mary Tudor. Bravely, however, like a Tudor as she was, she faced the inevitable end, sent a message to Elizabeth, whom she recognized as her successor, and passed away from her sorrows in the early morning of November 17, 1558. A day later died Cardinal Pole, who had succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury. Gardiner had died in 1555, so that the chief agents and advisers of Mary in her attempt to restore Roman Catholicism in England and to replace the English Church under the authority of the pope, were removed from the scene about the same time as their mistress.

Death of Mary.

Deaths of Gardiner and Pole.

CHAPTER V.

ELIZABETH, 1558–1603 (45 years). Born 1533.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Archbishop Parker; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and his son Robert Cecil; Sir Francis Walsingham; Sir Nicolas Bacon; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Francis Drake; Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and Sir Walter Raleigh.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

Scotland.	France.	Spain.
Mary, deposed 1567, d. 1587.	Henry II., d. 1559.	Philip II., 1556–1598.
James VI., d. 1625.	Francis II., d. 1560.	
	Charles IX., d. 1574.	
	Henry III., d. 1589.	
	Henry IV., d. 1610.	

ELIZABETH was in her twenty-sixth year when she was called by the acclamations of the nation to become queen. According to the will of Henry VIII., the next heir after her was Lady Katharine Grey, younger sister of the Lady Jane; but, according to the ordinary rules of inheritance, Mary, Queen of Scots, had a better title. A few who thought Elizabeth illegitimate would have placed Mary on the throne at once. Mary, however, had married the Dauphin of France, so that her accession meant the union of England, Scotland, and France under one head. This Philip of Spain was obliged to prevent at all costs, so he was forced to support Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's claim supported by Philip.

It was lucky for Elizabeth that such was the case. She found her kingdom weakened by the bad rule of Mary and the council of Edward VI.; she was actually at war with France; and, as Philip was her only ally, it would be most serious to lose his help. Philip, however, was anxious to keep her friendship, and offered to marry her if a dis-

Elizabeth's relations with Philip.

pensation from the pope could be obtained. But to this Elizabeth could never consent, for she could not acknowledge the right of the pope to grant such a dispensation without admitting that Henry VIII.'s marriage with Katharine of Aragon had been lawful, from which it would follow that she herself was illegitimate. She therefore did not answer his letter, and dared, moreover, to offend him by making such a settlement of religious affairs in England as Philip, being a rigid Catholic, could not possibly approve.

Her religious views.

The new queen had no intention of submitting to the pope, but she had no liking for the views of the ardent Protestants. She and her chief adviser, Cecil, wished that the doctrines of the Church of England should be so ill defined that few could not find an interpretation which should include their views within its pale, and that services should be so ordered that any Christian could attend them without offence.

The Church of England.

The services, however, were to be in English, and the Bible was to be freely circulated in the mother tongue. Over this Church the queen was declared to be in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme within her own dominions. The forty-two Articles of Religion in which Cranmer had defined the doctrines of the Church of England were reduced to thirty-nine. The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. was revised, and Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity ordering it to be used in all churches, and forbidding the use of any other form of public worship. Everybody was to go to church, or incur the payment of a fine of one shilling for each offence.

Attitude of the people towards Elizabeth's reforms.

This settlement was received by the nation without enthusiasm, but without resistance. The old Catholics would have liked to keep the mass; the new reformers would have cleared away much which they regarded as superstitious; but of the clergy, only about two hundred out of nine thousand refused to accept the arrangement and resigned their livings. Mary's bishops, however, with one exception, refused and were deprived, which enabled Elizabeth to appoint men to whom her aims were acceptable, at the head of whom was Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Of the laity many were discontented, and a few refused to come to church; but the great mass accepted the change as inevitable, and gradually, while the

old generation died away, a new one sprung up, to whom the English service became as dear as the mass had been to their fathers. Roman Catholic laymen who refused to attend church were called recusants. Some Protestants refused to accept Elizabeth's scheme, and after a time separated themselves from the Church. Of these the chief sects were the Presbyterians and the Independents or Brownists. Others, though they remained in the Church, agitated for further reforms, objecting specially to the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and to other practices which they thought to be superstitious. To these and to the Separatists was given the general name of Puritans.

The Puritans.

To carry out Elizabeth's policy, commissions were from time to time granted to bishops and others, giving them power to inquire into and punish cases of immorality and heresy, and offences against the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. In 1583, this commission became permanent under the name of the Court of High Commission.

The Court of High Commission.

In foreign affairs, Elizabeth's first business was to make peace with France. This she did in conjunction with Spain, stipulating that Calais, or a sum of money as its equivalent, was to be restored in eight years—a condition not likely to be kept. No one expected that England could stand alone; it was assumed that it must lean either upon France or upon Spain. It was equally assumed that Elizabeth would marry some one, either a subject or a foreigner. Elizabeth disappointed both these expectations. She and her friends saw that so long as France supported the claim of Mary, Queen of Scots, Spain could never ally with France against England, and she trusted to this fact to keep England out of war until it was strong enough to hold its own. She also saw that a marriage with a foreigner would displease the English and entangle her abroad, and that one with an Englishman would cause jealousy at home. If she married a Catholic, the Protestants would expect a new persecution; if a Protestant, it would fling the Catholics into the arms of Mary, Queen of Scots; and for these reasons she determined to remain single. For the present, therefore, her policy was to keep on good terms with both France and Spain, and not allow herself

Elizabeth's foreign policy.

to be drawn into any match, though she allowed it to be thought that her hand was still a prize to be won.

The first change in the situation came from Scotland. There the reformers had taken up arms against Mary of Guise, widow of James V., who was supported by French troops. The leader of the reformers was John Knox, who, however, had offended Elizabeth by a letter written during the reign of Mary against the rule of women. The Scottish Protestants called on Elizabeth to help them, and it was proposed that Mary should be declared deposed, and that the two kingdoms should be united by a marriage between Elizabeth and the Earl of Arran, who stood next after Mary in the Scottish succession. Elizabeth, however, found that Arran had not the qualities which would make him a desirable husband, while the vacillation of the Scots made her distrust their alliance. The scheme, therefore, fell through.

The Scotch proposal.

During its discussion the French king, Henry II., died, and Mary, Queen of Scots, and her husband Francis II., became Queen and King of France. The new sovereigns called themselves also Queen and King of England. In 1560 Francis died, so the union between France and Scotland was dissolved. The chief power in France fell into the hands of the family of Guise—to which Mary, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots, belonged—who were staunch Catholics, and in 1562 Elizabeth sent aid to the French Protestants, or Huguenots, in order to embarrass the government. The struggle between the Catholics and Huguenots in France was of great use to Elizabeth, as it prevented the Catholics from taking an active part against her, and the Huguenots were her friends. When the Catholics had the upper hand she was afraid they would join Spain, and therefore had to temporize with Philip; when the Protestants were the stronger, she could be bold. This fact makes her conduct appear vacillating, because it depended on circumstances which she could not control.

Union of France and Scotland.

Elizabeth's attitude towards the Huguenots and Catholics.

After a time the Netherlands, the richest part of Philip's dominions, were driven to revolt by Philip's arbitrary measures. This weakened Spain, and so made Elizabeth's position relatively stronger. For a long time, however, she had to be very careful.

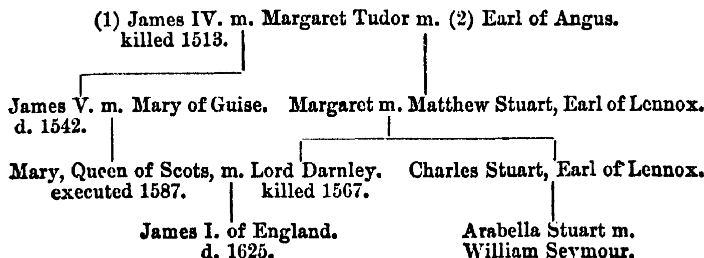
Revolt of the Netherlands.

Return of Mary to Scotland. **Marriage with Henry Darnley.** **Murder of Rizzio.** **Darnley murdered.** **Battle of Carberry Hill.** **Battle of Langside.** **Mary fled to England.**

When her husband was dead, Mary, Queen of Scots, returned home (1561). She was beautiful and clever; but she was not popular with her subjects, because she was a Catholic, while they were Protestants. After refusing several marriages which were suggested to her, Mary married her cousin, Henry Lord Darnley.[1] He was a grandson of Margaret, widow of James IV., by her second husband, and so stood next to Mary in the succession to the English crown. Politically it was a good match, but Darnley was a bad husband. He was younger than his wife, foolish and jealous, and in 1566, just before his son, afterwards James, King of England and Scotland, was born, he joined with some other nobles to murder Mary's secretary, David Rizzio, in whom she placed a great deal of trust. Rizzio was dragged from the room in which he was at supper with the queen and killed in the antechamber. Mary never forgave her husband. He was murdered the next year, and shortly afterwards Mary married Lord Bothwell, who had planned the murder, to which many thought that Mary herself had been privy. The nobles rose in revolt. Mary was beaten at Carberry Hill, forced to abdicate, and imprisoned in Lochleven Castle. In her stead her little son James was crowned king. In 1568, Mary escaped from Lochleven and was joined by an army of Catholics, but was again defeated at Langside, and this time she fled to England and implored the assistance of Elizabeth.

To the queen the arrival of her cousin was somewhat embarrass-

[1] GENEALOGY OF DARNLEY.



ing. Elizabeth refused to see her, but ordered the charges against her to be investigated before a conference at York.

Effect of Mary's arrival on the English.

Mary's presence roused the hopes of the English Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk thought to marry her, but was put in the Tower for his presumption. The same year, 1569, the Catholics of the north of England, under the Earls of

Revolt of the north.

Northumberland and Westmoreland, broke into revolt, had mass sung in Durham Cathedral, and marched on Tutbury, where Mary had been placed. Mary was hurried at once to Coventry, and the rebellion was a failure. The leaders escaped, but the government savagely wreaked their vengeance on the masses, and men were hanged at every market cross and village green from Wetherby to Newcastle. Mary was then kept in confinement.

Meanwhile Elizabeth and Parker had persevered in their plan of making all people worship alike. They found resistance from

Religious intolerance.

both extremes. Catholics who refused to attend church were fined. Priests who celebrated mass were searched for, tortured, put to death, or imprisoned. On the other hand, the dislike to Elizabeth's Church settlement grew among the clergy, and in 1564 many of the London clergy, who included some of the ablest men of the time, refused to obey the Act of Uniformity, and left the Church. They received a great deal of sympathy, and were specially patronized by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Leicester was a great favourite of Elizabeth. Throughout her reign Elizabeth had about her men of two stamps. There were

Elizabeth's favourites.

the statesmen, such as Cecil, Lord Burleigh, with Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom she listened for their wisdom, and who addressed themselves to her mind. There were also Lord Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and others who flattered her vanity and appealed to her heart. Many thought that Elizabeth would some day marry Leicester, and she sometimes allowed him and men like him to have too much influence.

Meanwhile the Catholics were beginning to be convinced that they had nothing to hope from Elizabeth, and in 1570 Pope Pius V. issued

Elizabeth excommunicated.

a bull excommunicating her, and releasing all her subjects from their allegiance. This made it needful for Elizabeth to look about for allies, and in 1571 she seriously

thought of marrying Henry of Anjou, brother of the French king; but the negotiations came to nothing. A year later the Catholic party in France massacred their chief opponents on St. Bartholomew's Day, and it seemed likely that a Catholic league might be formed against her; but fortunately Philip was occupied by the revolt of the Netherlands, so this danger passed away.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Papal Bull encouraged the supporters of Queen Mary, and plots were made on her behalf which were a constant source of terror to Elizabeth. Happily the government spies gave excellent information of what went on; but Parliament was very anxious, and would gladly have attainted Mary had Elizabeth been willing to allow it. One of these plots was managed by an Italian named Ridolfi; the Duke of Norfolk had a share in it, and was executed in consequence in 1572.

Plots to place Mary on the throne.

The great fear was lest France or Spain should take advantage of the situation to invade England, while Mary's friends raised an insurrection at home; and so needful did it seem to keep peace either with France or Spain, that in 1581 Elizabeth, though now forty-eight, made a pretence of intending to marry Francis, Duke of Anjou, a brother of her former suitor, who had become King of France. The negotiations served to gain time, but came to nothing.

Negotiations for a marriage with the Duke of Anjou.

It was clear, however, to all parties that the state of suspense which Elizabeth had contrived to maintain since her accession could not be much longer protracted. Mary's friends were as active as ever. Numbers of young Catholic priests, trained in hostility to Elizabeth, were pouring into the country. Conspiracies against the queen's life were numerous, and it was found that Throgmorton, the leader of one of these, who was taken and executed, had been acting with the knowledge of the Spanish ambassador.

Unsettled state of the country.

In the New World, fighting between the English and Spaniards had been going on for years. The Spaniards wished to exclude all other nations from a share either in their discoveries or their trade, and to this Englishmen would not submit. Expeditions were fitted out to visit America, and these plundered Spanish towns, and captured Spanish treasure-ships at every opportunity. In 1579,

Francis Drake, of Devonshire, sailed through the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, plundered Valparaiso and other Spanish towns along the coast of South America, and, having laden his ships with gold and silver, sailed home by the Cape of Good Hope, being the first Englishman who sailed round the world. Another terror of the Spaniards was Sir John Hawkins, who again and again attacked the Spanish settlements in the West Indies; he was the first to capture negroes in Africa, and to sell them as slaves to the Spaniards to work in the mines and plantations. Other Englishmen strove hard to rival the Spaniards by finding a short route to China and India round the north of America. This was called the North-West Passage, and the names of Frobisher's and Davies' Straits still commemorate the discoveries of two of Elizabeth's sailors.

The English in the New World.

Even more important were the attempts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, the great Sir Walter Raleigh, to found an English colony on the shores of North America. Gilbert's first expedition was made in 1578, but proved a failure. In 1583, he and Raleigh organized a joint expedition which took possession of Newfoundland, but Gilbert himself was shipwrecked and drowned, and the survivors returned home. Raleigh, however, who, more than any other Englishman, saw the importance of founding a colonial empire, persevered; and in 1584 and 1585 two other expeditions were sent, which made a settlement at the mouth of the Chesapeake river. The colony was called Virginia, in compliment to the queen. In 1586, however, the colonists returned home, and though Raleigh sent out many expeditions between 1587 and 1602, he did not succeed in forming a permanent settlement during Elizabeth's reign.

Colonization of North America.

The antagonism of Philip and Elizabeth in Europe, and the rivalry between the English and Spaniards in America, were making war inevitable, and both Cecil and Leicester would have been glad to see the queen plunge into it at once.

War inevitable.

Elizabeth, however, had the greatest dislike to take any irrevocable step; but in 1585 she went so far as to make a treaty with the revolted Netherlanders, and to send Leicester to their assistance. In 1586, the Netherlanders made Leicester their chief officer, under the title of Stadt-

Treaty with the Netherlands.

holder; but he did not distinguish himself, and during the siege of Zutphen one of the most brilliant Englishmen of the day, Sir Philip Sidney, was killed.

War was now certain between England and Spain, and the existence of Mary, Queen of Scots, became a still greater danger to Elizabeth. It was believed that she was plotting against the queen's life, and in 1584 an association was formed, with the sanction of Parliament, to protect Elizabeth from assassination, and at the same time a strict watch was set over Mary. When the government had determined to act against Mary, they were not very scrupulous in the honesty of their dealings. A trap was laid to entangle her in a treasonable correspondence, and in 1586 proof was obtained that she was privy to a plot for Elizabeth's assassination which had been made by a young gentleman named Babington. Mary was tried by a special commission, and found guilty. Elizabeth was long in signing the warrant for her death, and even when she had done so, intended to delay its execution; but the council had it carried into effect, and in February, 1587, Mary was executed. The news of her death was received by the nation as a relief.

Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.

In dying, however, Mary left her claim to the crown to the Infanta of Spain, Philip's daughter, who was in a remote degree a descendant of John of Gaunt. Philip at once determined to enforce her rights by an invasion of England. For this end he prepared a gigantic fleet, named by the Spaniards the Armada. His preparations were not allowed to go on without interruption. In 1587, Sir Francis Drake led an English fleet against the great port of Cadiz, and destroyed a large part of Philip's stores and transport. The next year, 1588, all was ready, and the Armada set sail. Philip's orders were to sail up the English Channel through the Straits of Dover, and then to land at one of the Netherland ports in order to take on board the Duke of Parma, with his well-trained army. The whole body was then to attempt the invasion of England.

The Armada.

On the English side vigorous preparations had been made for their reception. A considerable army was ready to defend London. The militia of every county was ready to march at a moment's notice as soon as the beacon glare sent

Preparations for war.

from hill to hill the news of the landing. The chief reliance was placed on the fleet, commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, who was a Roman Catholic, and also a relation of the queen through Anne Boleyn. With him were Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, and all the great seamen of the day. Unfortunately, Elizabeth's turn for economy had cut down the stores of powder and victuals to the lowest point; but the sailors waited with brave though anxious hearts the issue of the combat.

When the huge fleet hove in sight, the English did not attempt to stop its progress. They let it pass, and then, quickly pursuing, they hung upon its rear and attacked every ship that lagged behind. The wind was up Channel, so the light English vessels were able to catch the Spanish hulks when they chose; and if they drew off, the Spaniards could not pursue against the wind. In this way the fight raged along the Channel, the English carefully taking the powder out of each ship they captured in order to supply their wants. At last the Straits of Dover were reached, and the Spaniards took refuge in and near Calais harbour, and waited for events. But the English could not afford to wait; both ammunition and provisions were running short; so, to force the Spaniards on, they sent fire-ships among them, and compelled them to cut their moorings.

Manner of the English attack.

Then came the crisis; if the Spaniards could make the Netherland shore, they had still no cause to despair. But the wind helped the English, who contrived to get between the Spaniards and their friendly port, and to drive them into the North Sea. Once there, return against the wind was impossible. Norway and Denmark were unfriendly. A storm rose, and nothing remained but to make the best of their way round the rocky coast of Scotland and Ireland, and so return home. The English fleet did little more against them; but the winds blew, and the waves rose; storm after storm drove the Spanish vessels on the cruel rocks; and of that noble armament, which might have changed the history of the world, a few shattered ships alone reached Spain.

Destruction of the Spanish fleet.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada, the most glorious event in the reign of Elizabeth, completely changed the position of England. During the remainder of the reign England had little to fear from Spain. Her soldiers

Effect of the victory on the country.

and sailors attacked the Spanish ships wherever they could find them, even against enormous odds, and in 1596, when Philip had collected a new Armada at Cadiz, Howard, Raleigh, and Essex sailed into the harbour and destroyed or captured all the ships under the guns of the forts. No more had the queen to trim her sails between France and Spain. Henry of France was proud to accept Elizabeth as his ally, and the enemies of the queen at home and abroad despaired of success. It was a turning-point in other ways. Within a year Leicester died. Walsingham soon followed him. Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was growing old; and new figures came upon the scene.

The Earl of Essex.

Of these the most striking was Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. He had the attractiveness of Leicester, but he was a greater man. He had great schemes, but he did not agree with the other statesmen of the time. Burleigh and the queen wished to bring to an end the Spanish war; Essex wanted to continue it, for he thought England might gain much by conquest and colonization. Of late the queen had been very stern both to the Roman Catholics and to the Puritans; Essex, on the other hand, had used expressions showing a wish to tolerate both. He also failed to conciliate Lord Burleigh's son, Robert Cecil; and he was viewed with jealousy by Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, and other courtiers. On the other hand, he was the idol of the people and the favourite of the queen.

State of Ireland.

Throughout the reign Ireland had been a constant source of trouble and expense. The Tudors had steadily pursued the policy of taking land from the rebel chiefs and giving it to English settlers. This was extremely unfair, because in Ireland, land belonged, not to the chief only, but to him and his clan, or sept; and so the innocent clansmen suffered for the guilt of their chief. Consequently rebellions, in which the English settlers were massacred and their homes burnt, were numerous. One of these rebellions broke out in 1595. It was led by O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, and help was given to him by Spain.

O'Neal's rebellion.

O'Neal was an excellent general, and made the most of the bogs and woods which embarrassed the regular soldiery. Sir John Norris died, worn out by pursuing him, and Sir Henry Bagnal was killed in an ambuscade at Blackwater. Essex had talked so much of what he

would have done had he been there, that all parties united to press him to go out as deputy. He was obliged to accept the post, but did no better than his predecessors; and then, fearing that his enemies were plotting against him, he suddenly, without leave, returned home and threw himself on the queen's mercy. His case was investigated, and he was kept for a time in honourable confinement.

Essex sent to quell the rebellion.

He returns to England.

Essex' spirit chafed at this, and on his release he began to correspond with James of Scotland, and to form friendships with the Puritan separatists, and collected round him bodies of discontented Catholics and disbanded soldiers. There is no doubt that he meant to change the government by force; but the council heard of his proceedings, and determined to strike first. Essex resisted; but his plans were not ready, and he was seized, tried, and executed for treason. His death is said to have preyed very much upon Elizabeth's mind.

Essex plots against the queen.

He is seized and executed.

In the latter years of the reign Parliament showed greater independence than in the earlier. The defeat of the Armada had relieved the English of a great anxiety, and after it they were less ready than before to put up with high-handed conduct on the part of the court. Their chief grievance was the existence of monopolies. These, like our patents, were rights to sell a particular article, but they were not given, like patents, as a reward for invention, but to some courtier or other, and the extra price he charged was really a tax on the nation for his benefit. These had been granted recklessly, as an easy way of satisfying greedy applicants for court favour, and were very unpopular. Parliament in 1601 insisted on their being abolished, and when the queen saw that the House was in earnest she promised to give way.

Attitude of Parliament.

Monopolies abolished.

Though the reign was in many ways glorious, it had been a hard time for the poor. Elizabeth had done good service by renewing the coinage, and getting rid of the bad money of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; but prices had still kept high in proportion to wages, and the enclosure of commons had still gone on. Consequently in every parish there were numbers of poor; and as, now the monasteries were gone, there was no one

Distress among the poor.

whose business it was to relieve them, the churchwardens were allowed first to ask voluntary alms, and afterwards to levy a rate for their support. In 1601 all the acts on the subject were recast, and the maintenance of the impotent poor, and the setting the able-bodied to work in workhouses, was intrusted in each parish to regular guardians.

The poor law.

After the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, it was pretty certain that her son James would succeed Elizabeth; for the claim of Katharine Grey and her children in virtue of the will of Henry VIII. was no longer thought of. The queen did not like to think of James being her successor, but it began to be understood that he would be the next king; and when Elizabeth died, in 1603, there was no question as to the succession.

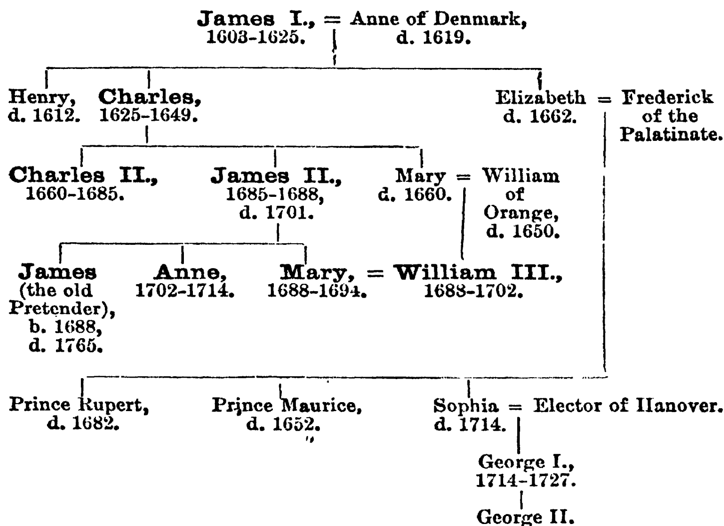
Death of Queen Elizabeth.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS UNDER THE TUDORS.

Court afterwards known as Star Chamber established ...	1487
John Cabot reaches the mainland of America	1497
Marriage of Margaret of England to James IV.	1502
Fall of Wolsey	1529
Church of England separated from Rome	1532–1534
Pilgrimage of Grace	1536
English Bible set up in the churches...	——
Dissolution of the monasteries completed	1539
Issue of bad money begun by Henry VIII.	1543
Ket's rebellion against the "Enclosures"	1549
Marriage of Mary to Philip of Spain	1554
English Church reformed by Elizabeth	1559
Mary, Queen of Scots, arrives in England	1568
Northern insurrection	1569
Court of High Commission established	1583
Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots	1587
Raleigh's first attempt to colonize America	——
First Charter granted to the East India Company... ...	1600
Execution of Essex	1601
Poor law established	——


BRITISH ISLES
to illustrate
History since 1603.
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
10 8 6 4 2 0 2
58 56 54 52 50
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Channel
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
FRANCE
Ulster
Connaught
Leinster
Munster
Inverness
Auldearn
Culloden
Alford
Aberdeen
Ft Augustus
Inverlochy
Killiekrankie
Ft William
Perth
Tippermuir
Stirling
Prestonpans
Falkirk
Dunbar
Inverkeithing
EDINBURGH
Berwick
Philiphaugh
Newcastle
Carlisle
Clifton
Londonderry
Belfast
Killala B.
Enniskillen
Newtown Butler
I. of Man
Ripon
Lancaster
Marston Moor
York
Castlebar
Drogheda
Preston
Adwalton Moor
Leeds
Hull
Wigan
Manchester
Gainsborough
Aughrim
Galway
Athlone
Boyne
DUBLIN
Warrington
Rathmines
I. of Anglesey
Chester
Winceby
Rowton
Nantwich
Newark
Nottingham
Norwich
Shrewsbury
Leicester
Holmby
Limerick
Vinegar Hill
Naseby
Southwold
Wexford
Birmingham
Cropredy
Newmarket
Worcester
Edgehill
Cork
Gloucester
Oxford
Colchester
Chalgrove Field
LONDON
Pembroke
Bristol
The Nore
Newbury
Chatham
Roundway
Maidstone
Sedgemoor
Portsmouth
Carisbrook
Beachy Hd.
Lostwithiel
Tor Bay

XVII.—THE STUARTS.



XVIII.—BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE, 1589-1715.

Henry IV., 1589-1609.

Louis XIII., 1609-1643.

Louis XIV., 1643-1715.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES I., 1603–1625 (22 years).
Born 1566; married, 1589, Anne of Denmark.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Sir Walter Raleigh; Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Catesby; Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Sir Francis Bacon (Viscount St. Alban's); Edward Coke; John Selden; John Pym.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

France.	Spain.
Henry IV., d. 1610.	Philip III., d. 1621.
Louis XIII., d. 1643.	Philip IV., d. 1665.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Lord Darnley, became James I. of England by right of descent from his great-grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. He was the first of the Stuart sovereigns, a family who, with the exception of the Commonwealth from 1649 to 1660, reigned in England one hundred and eleven years. At his accession James was thirty-seven years old. He had been King of Scotland since he was a baby, and he had very exaggerated ideas as to the rights of sovereigns. The Tudors had never troubled about the theory of government so long as they had the power to do what they liked, and they had usually taken care that what they did agreed with the wishes of the majority of their subjects. James, on the contrary, thought much of the theory of government, but had little idea of winning respect, while his slovenly and gluttonous habits contrasted ill with the dignity of the Tudors. For all that, James was a learned man, and knew more about foreign affairs, and about history and religious controversy, than most of his contemporaries; but he had little judgment, and was called by the witty Henry IV. of France, "the wisest fool in Christendom." Parliament had begun

James' character and views on government.

to be restive under Queen Elizabeth, and it was not likely that it would be more steady when the reins were handed to such a man as the pedantic James. On the other hand, it could not be expected that the new sovereign would give up rights which had been exercised by his predecessors, so that a quarrel between king and Parliament was inevitable. On his road from Scotland, James hanged a pickpocket at Newark without the form of trial, and this act, which violated a host of statutes from Magna Carta downwards, was a fitting prelude to the new era.

James took for his minister Robert Cecil, the son of Elizabeth's minister Burleigh, who inherited the policy of his father. This was a very sore blow to Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham, who had hoped to supplant Cecil, and were disappointed to find that James intended to give him his confidence. Raleigh, moreover, was deprived by James of the post of captain of the royal guard. They therefore discussed a plan for getting rid of Cecil, and possibly thought of placing on the throne Arabella Stuart (see p. 211), niece of Lord Darnley, in case James proved obdurate. At the same time, some Roman Catholics and Puritans, led by Watson, a priest, and Lord Grey de Wilton, a Puritan, who had been friends of Essex, talked of seizing the king and forcing him to grant toleration. These two plans were called the Main and the Bye Plots. Cecil heard of them, arrested the leaders, and cleverly tried them as if the two plots were the same. By this means he contrived to get rid of his enemies, Cobham and Raleigh, who were condemned to death and thrown into the Tower; and for nine years Cecil was the leading minister.

The Main and Bye Plots.

Imprisonment of Raleigh and Cobham.

Both Roman Catholics and Puritans hoped to find favour with James. The first relied on his descent from Mary, Queen of Scots, the second on his Presbyterian education; but they soon found that he was determined to uphold the religious settlement of Elizabeth. In 1604 a conference was held at Hampton Court between the bishops and the representatives of the Puritans. It simply served to show how much they differed, and the only good that came from it was an order for a new translation of the Bible. This translation

The Hampton Court Conference.

New translation of the Bible.

was made carefully, and is still used in churches under the name of the Authorized Version. With the Roman Catholics James had more sympathy, but Parliament alone could alter the laws, and James' first Parliament, which met in 1604, was Puritan in feeling, and, so far from doing this, pressed for greater severity.

The more reckless Roman Catholics, therefore, who had shared in Essex' conspiracy and the Bye Plot, under the lead of Catesby, determined to blow up king and Parliament together. Their plan was well laid, and they were fortunate enough to hire some cellars under the House of Lords, where they stored their gunpowder; but the date of Parliament's meeting being again and again put off, and their funds running short, they were obliged to let some rich men into their secret, and their plans were made known to the government. The meeting of Parliament was at length fixed for November 5th, 1605, but at the last moment the cellars were searched, and Guy Fawkes, a Yorkshireman, who had fought in the Spanish service, was found ready to fire the train. On learning the news of his arrest, the other conspirators, who had assembled at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, intending to raise the country as soon as the catastrophe occurred in London, fled for their lives, and fought desperately when attacked. By accident, however, their powder blew up, and many of them were killed. The rest, with Fawkes, were tried and executed. Their plot was a terrible misfortune for their fellow-Catholics. Quite unjustly they were credited with a reckless willingness to use any means, however horrible, to gain their ends, and many years passed away before ignorant people ceased to believe that when any evil happened the Roman Catholics were at the bottom of it. As soon as Parliament again met, the laws against the Roman Catholics were made more severe.

The Gunpowder Plot.

How the plot affected the Catholics.

As might have been expected, from the divergence of their views on religion and politics, the relations between James and his Parliaments were from the first unfriendly. In his first summons, issued in 1604, James ventured to warn the electors not to choose outlaws, or men of extreme religious views. Buckinghamshire, however, chose Goodwin, an outlaw; and a new election was ordered by the Chancellor. The House of Commons remonstrated against this

James' first Parliament.

Control over elections.

violation of their rights, and the king had to give way. This victory gave the House the right to settle the merits of all disputed elections, and was of great importance. In the case of Shirley, who had been imprisoned for debt, it was established that no member could be arrested, except on a charge of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. At the close of the session of 1604 the House of Commons recorded their opinion that the privileges of Parliament had "been more universally and dangerously impugned than ever, as they suppose, since the beginnings of Parliaments."

Arrests of members.

James' most serious violation of the law was in respect to taxation. His main sources of income were the Crown lands, the feudal dues, and tonnage and poundage, which were granted to him for life. Tonnage meant a tax of from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* levied on each tun of wine or liquor coming into or going out of the kingdom, and poundage a similar tax of 6*d.* to 1*s.* on every pound of dry goods. The rates on each article were recorded in a book. James, who through the extravagance of the court was sore pressed for money, claimed to alter these rates as he chose, and the additions he made in 1608 were called the Impositions. In the case of Bate, a merchant who refused to pay, the judges, who could then be dismissed from their posts at the king's pleasure, decided against him; but the Commons never ceased to protest against the Impositions, which infringed their right to control taxation.

The Impositions.

On matters of general politics the Commons agreed with the king no better than on matters of privilege. In 1607 Parliament refused to allow England and Scotland to be united into one kingdom, as James would have liked, and contented itself with doing away with the hostile border laws, exactly a century before the union of the two countries in 1707. James proposed to commute the payment of feudal dues, and the rights of wardship and marriage, for a fixed tax of £200,000, levied upon lands held by feudal tenure. This the Commons thought too much, and the plan broke down.

James' policy rejected.

On foreign politics James was no more in accord with his subjects than in other matters. James was very desirous, as Elizabeth had latterly been, to make peace with Spain. This policy was unpopular, for the English had made money by sacking Spanish towns and plundering Spanish treasure-ships, and

James' foreign policies.

had no wish to be at peace. Elizabeth, moreover, had always wished to keep up a close alliance with France; but James wished to make Spain England's chief friend, and this the nation disliked. As long as Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, lived he tried to hold James to the traditions of Elizabeth. In this he was tolerably successful, and in 1612 he negotiated a marriage between James' daughter Elizabeth and Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, one of the leading Protestant princes of Germany, and one who was hostile to Spain and Austria. Unfortunately, Cecil died shortly after the wedding, and by an unhappy coincidence he was soon followed by James' eldest son Henry, a prince of great promise, who was the hope of those who disliked Spain. After the death of Cecil and Prince Henry, James drifted rapidly away from France, and became a close ally of Spain. He hoped much from a marriage between his second son Charles and a Spanish princess, for he expected to pay his debts out of the lady's dowry, and also to gain increased influence abroad.

Influence of Robert Cecil.

Death of Prince Henry.

James allies with Spain.

Meanwhile the energy of the country was finding new outlets. After the failure of Essex in Ireland, Mountjoy was made deputy, and before the close of Elizabeth's reign he had put down the rebellion, and bridled the Irish of Ulster by building small forts in every position of importance, which he garrisoned with picked soldiers well provided with provisions. His successor was Arthur Chichester, one of Ireland's best rulers, who did justice to all alike. Unfortunately, new troubles threw a great deal of land into the hands of the government. Chichester advised that the best land should be given to the Irish, and the remainder to English and Scottish settlers. The government, however, rejected his counsel, and after giving the best lots to the settlers gave what remained to the Irish. The new comers showed themselves to be men of energy, and in their hands Ulster, which had been the wildest, became the most prosperous district in Ireland; but the wrongs of the dispossessed Irish were never forgotten, and sowed the seed of a wild revenge at a later day.

English settlement in Ireland.

After Sir Walter Raleigh's imprisonment the project of colonizing Virginia was taken up by a body of merchants and others, styled the Virginia Company. It was some time before they made a permanent

settlement, but at length, in 1607, an expedition led by John Smith succeeded, and so laid the foundation of the United States. The same year a colony was also established on the West Indian Island, Bermudez, so that the date 1607 may be taken as that when the English colonial empire was founded. The next settlers in America were Separatists, who disliked the religious settlement maintained by James. In 1608 a body of Nottinghamshire Independents left England, and settled at the town of Leyden in Holland. After a time they thought they should prefer a country life, and in 1620 they sailed from England to America in the *Mayflower*, and called the place where they landed New Plymouth. Their land was situated in a temperate climate, like that of England. It had no gold, nor was it suited for growing sugar or tobacco, so the colonists kept abroad the habit of industriously tilling the ground with their own hands, and so remained vigorous and energetic, neither enervated by a relaxing climate nor demoralized by the institution of slavery. Their example was followed by others, and soon a new England, Puritan in faith and agricultural in profession, grew up on the eastern coast of North America. (See map, p. 351.)

Beginning of English Colonial Empire.

Under Elizabeth the English had carried on a flourishing trade with India and Africa and the ports of the Mediterranean, and just before her death, in 1600, the East India Company was formed for the purpose of carrying on trade with that country. Under James commerce acquired still greater importance. In those days trade was almost always in the hands of companies, just as railways are now, and every branch had its company, such as the Smyrna Company, the Turkey Company, and so forth. Most of these companies had their houses of business in London, and their establishment led to London getting far ahead of other English towns as a mart. This increase of London was looked upon with jealousy by the kings, but it was a great source of strength to Parliament, of which the London merchants were the most energetic supporters.

Trading companies.

When Cecil was dead, James allowed himself to fall into the hands of favourites. Of these the first was Robert Carr, a worthless but handsome young man, whom he made Earl of Somerset. To please him James furthered the

James' favourites.

divorce of the Earl of Essex from his wife, whom Somerset then married. Presently it was found that Somerset and his wife were concerned in a murder. She was tried and found guilty, and Somerset was disgraced. The next favourite was George Villiers, also handsome but a better man than Somerset. On him the king showered favours, and, though he had had no experience, preferred his advice to that of wiser men. Under the guidance of these favourites the expenses of the court rose threefold, and in 1614 James, in spite of the additional income gained from the Impositions, found himself obliged to call a Parliament. Some of the courtiers undertook to secure a friendly one, for which reason they were called "undertakers;" but when it met, the king found it so hostile that, being dissolved before it had passed a single measure, it was called the Addled Parliament.

The Addled Parliament.

For seven years he ruled without a Parliament, and during those years James remodelled the government after his own ideas. In legal matters his chief adviser was Sir Francis Bacon, author of the "Essays," and of the "Advancement of Learning," who rose to be chancellor in 1618. Like most Chancery lawyers, Bacon had a high idea of the king's power, and wished to see it used well; but he was too weak to take a strong line, and was willing to keep his place while his good advice was disregarded. As a lawyer, Bacon's rival was Edward Coke, who was dismissed from his post of Chief Justice in 1616, as a warning to the judges that they held their posts only so long as they pleased the king.

Dismissal of Coke.

Meanwhile the greatest of Elizabethan heroes, Sir Walter Raleigh, was a prisoner in the Tower, writing a history of the world, and amusing himself with chemical experiments. However, in 1616, James ordered his release, and allowed him to go on a voyage to Guiana in search of a gold-mine, whose whereabouts he had learnt on a former voyage. At the same time, he was ordered not to enter into hostilities against the Spaniards. It seems to have been James' idea from the beginning that, if Raleigh found the mine, the benefit would go to the crown, but that, if he failed, the fault could all be laid upon his shoulders. Unfortunately, the expedition proved a failure. Raleigh himself remained at the mouth of the river, and sent his son, under the care of Captain Keymis, to search for the mine. A fight with the Spaniards ensued, in which young

Raleigh was killed, and Keymis, despairing of success, returned to the ships. Raleigh then proposed that an attack should be made on the Spanish treasure-fleet; but his captains refused to follow him, and the expedition returned to England. Except at court, Raleigh was the most popular man in England, for James' friendship for Spain was detested by the nation; but James, thinking only of not offending the Spaniards, threw the whole blame for the fighting on Sir Walter, and, after offering to give him up to the Spaniards, had him executed on his old sentence, which had never been commuted.

Raleigh's expedition and death.

The disgraceful sacrifice of Raleigh, the extravagance of the court, and the influence of favourites brought James' government into utter contempt; but in 1621 James thought that he might induce his subjects to forget the past by asking them to aid him in helping the German Protestants. War between the Catholic and protestant German States had long been imminent, and matters reached a crisis when, in 1619, the Protestant Bohemians elected Frederick of the Palatinate their king, instead of the Catholic Ferdinand of Styria, who two days afterwards was chosen Emperor. As James was his father-in-law, Frederick hoped to have English support, and also that of the Protestant powers, while he expected to be attacked by the Austrians and Spaniards. While James was hesitating what to do, the Austrians attacked Bohemia and the Spaniards the Palatinate, and in 1620 Frederick was expelled from both countries. These events roused the greatest indignation in England. Volunteers hurried to Germany, to fight for the cause of the princess and her husband. Even James was for a moment roused, and called a Parliament. Most Englishmen hoped that war with Spain would be immediately declared, for they saw that the shortest way to help Frederick was to attack his real enemy, Spain; but James still relied on negotiations, and hoped to find some way of thwarting Spanish policy without involving himself in hostilities with the Spaniards.

The Thirty Years' War.

When Parliament met, however, the Commons, especially as they found that James had no notion of war, gave more attention to the abuses at home than to foreign affairs. Their chief act was to impeach some of the king's ministers. Impeachment, or the trial before the House of Lords

Parliament of 1621.

of an offender accused by the House of Commons, had been disused in England since the case of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450. It was now revived, and Sir Giles Mompesson and Francis Bacon, now lord chancellor and Viscount St. Alban's, were impeached. The charge against the former was the holding of monopolies, against the latter the receiving of bribes. Both were convicted and punished. Irritated by this assault on his ministers, James was less able to bear the inquiries which the Commons directed into abuses. James asserted that their privileges sprang from his grant, and forbade them to meddle with religion and foreign affairs. The Commons retorted that "their liberties and privileges were the undoubted birthright of the subjects of England," and James tore the protest from their journals with his own hand. He then dissolved the Parliament, and imprisoned four members—Coke, Pym, Phelips, and Mallory.

Revival of Impeachment.

Parliament dissolved.

James then went back to his negotiations with Spain. He hoped that, if his son married the infanta, the Spaniards would be willing to interfere on behalf of his son-in-law Frederick. This the Spaniards had no intention of doing, but thought that James ought to show some favour to the English Catholics. This James could not do without the consent of Parliament, and to gain that was out of the question. Hence there was no prospect of a settlement. The negotiations, however, dragged on, and in 1623 Charles and Buckingham went in disguise to Madrid, and tried to win the infanta's love by this romantic adventure. The pair reached Madrid safely, but the Spaniards were too astute to allow their flank to be thus turned. They still held to their terms, and as Buckingham proved himself a bad negociator, the treaty was broken off, and Charles and he returned home, loudly denouncing the ill faith of the Spaniards and calling for war.

James negotiates with Spain.

Charles and Buckingham go to Madrid.

This quarrel had the effect of making Charles and Buckingham popular. In 1624 a new Parliament met, and eagerly voted supplies for a war with Spain. A treaty was made for a marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and sister of the reigning King, Louis XIII., and war was imminent when, in 1625, James I. died.

Parliament votes supplies for a war with Spain.

James' death.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES I., 1625—1649 (24 years).
Born 1600; married, 1625, Henrietta Maria of France.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Sir John Eliot; John Pym; Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford; William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Prynne; Chambers; John Hampden; Edward Hyde; Lord Falkland; Lord Manchester; Lord Essex; William Cavendish, Earl (afterwards Marquess and Duke) of Newcastle; Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax; Oliver Cromwell; Sir Thomas Fairfax; the Duke of Hamilton.

Chief Contemporary Princes.

France.	Sweden.
Louis XIII., d. 1643.	Gustavus Adolphus,
Louis XIV., d. 1715.	1611–1632.

Character of Charles I.

AT his accession Charles I. was twenty-five years old. In character he was a great contrast to his father. James had been slovenly and unkingly in his habits; Charles was every inch a king, and won the respect of all by his manners and deportment. On the other hand, James had been distinguished among kings by his education and by his acquaintance with the theory of government, both in Church and State; Charles was narrow-minded, and had no special knowledge of these matters. James' early history had taught him the need of giving way; Charles had not learned this. As Sir Ferdinand Fairfax said of him at his accession, "The king in his own nature is very stiff." Worse than all, Charles was wanting in ingenuousness. He trusted much to king-craft, and his subjects formed the opinion that his word was not one on which they could rely. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that Charles' training had taught him to look on all the powers exercised by his predecessors as his rights, and that it could not be expected that he would give them up without a struggle.

In pursuance of the policy of the last reign, Charles married Henrietta Maria of France, and made war against Spain. The taxes which had been voted to James for life ceased at his death, and when Charles' first Parliament met, the Commons, instead of voting tonnage and poundage for life, voted it for one year only, just as the Parliament votes all taxes at the present time. Along with this grant Parliament also voted two subsidies. These the king accepted, but the tonnage and poundage bill was dropped in the Lords, after one reading.

Charles' marriage.

War declared against Spain.

Tonnage and poundage dropped.

As part of the plan for the Spanish war, Charles lent to the French eight ships. Richelieu, however, the French minister, used the ships, not against Spain, but against the Huguenots of Rochelle. This irritated the English Protestants, and when they learnt that the marriage treaty with Henrietta had given her full liberty for worship, and that the court was showing favour to the Roman Catholics by pardoning convicted priests, Parliament became so outspoken against the government, and especially against Buckingham, that Charles had recourse to a dissolution.

Irritation of Parliament.

The popularity of Charles and Buckingham now disappeared; and, in order to recall it, an expedition, intended to rival the achievements of Drake and Raleigh, was sent against Cadiz. Unfortunately it turned out a complete failure, and left the country more irritated than before. To provide himself with funds Charles collected tonnage and poundage, just as though they had been granted; but in spite of this, he was forced by his necessities to call a second Parliament in 1626.

Failure of expedition to Cadiz.

Second Parliament called.

In calling it, Charles contrived to get rid of some of the most outspoken members by naming them sheriffs, so that they could not be returned as knights of the shire; and to exclude the Earl of Bristol, formerly ambassador at Madrid, whose revelations might have been most inconvenient to Buckingham, by refusing to send him a writ. These devices completely failed; the members elected were as determined as ever, and the lords heartily espoused the cause of Lord Bristol. Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot boldly impeached Buckingham. The

Impeachment of Buckingham.

king in a fury sent them to the Tower. The Commons refused to continue business till they were released, and Charles was forced to give in. The impeachment was then resumed, and as the Commons refused to grant any supplies till their grievances were redressed, the second Parliament was dismissed.

Parliament dismissed.

Still the war went on. The exchequer was empty, and to pay his expenses Charles levied tonnage and poundage as before, and also collected a forced loan, as had often been done by Henry VIII. To add to his difficulties, Charles quarrelled with France, and war broke out with that country. To help the Huguenots, a great expedition was sent to occupy the Isle of Rhé off Rochelle. Buckingham himself led it, but the scheme was a hopeless failure, and gave the nation further proof of the incompetence of its rulers. In consequence, men were more than ever unwilling to pay the forced loan; but five knights who refused to pay were cast into prison, and the judges, on being appealed to, decided that they must wait there till the king's charges were ready—a decision which set Magna Carta at defiance. Meanwhile poor men were pressed for the army and navy under martial law, and billeted on the refractory gentlemen.

Fighting abroad and discomfiture at home.

Still Charles' necessities forced him to apply for money, and in 1628 his third Parliament met. The Commons at once renewed their attack on Buckingham, and under Sir Thomas Wentworth and John Pym drew up the famous Petition of Right. This document, which ranks with Confirmatio Cartarum and Magna Carta, condemned in four great clauses the recent acts of the government. These laid down (1) that no freeman be required to give any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax without common consent by Act of Parliament; (2) that no freeman be imprisoned or detained contrary to the law of the land; (3) that soldiers or mariners be not billeted in private houses; (4) that commissions to punish soldiers and sailors by martial law be revoked and no more issued. To this Charles gave an unwilling consent, and in return Parliament liberally granted five subsidies amounting to £350,000. It was then prorogued.

Charles' third Parliament. The Petition of Right.

Parliament grants five subsidies.

During the recess several events of importance happened. In

ecclesiastical matters Charles sided with the High Church party. He was not a Roman Catholic, and had no idea of becoming one; but he sympathized with those who wished to retain as much as they innocently could of the splendour of the old Catholic worship, and disliked the Puritans, who wished to go further along the path of reform. Just after the prorogation of Parliament, Laud, who thoroughly sympathized with the king's views in this matter, was translated from Bath and Wells to London, and, though he was not made Archbishop of Canterbury till 1633, immediately became the king's chief adviser in ecclesiastical business. Laud was a pious and earnest man, thoroughly convinced that what he did was right; but, like the Puritans, he was narrow-minded, and could not believe that those who differed from him were as conscientious as himself. He was therefore viewed with great dislike by the Puritans, and his connection with Charles did the king a great deal of harm.

Attitude of Charles towards religion.

Advancement of Laud.

About the same time that Laud became Bishop of London, Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been one of the chief promoters of the Petition of Right, came over to the king's side. Personally he disliked the rule of Buckingham, and was averse to his illegal proceedings; but he disliked still more the tendency he saw in Parliament to take upon itself the king's business of governing the country.

Wentworth comes over to the king's side.

Not long afterwards Buckingham, who was at Portsmouth preparing a new expedition against France, was assassinated by a private enemy named Felton. His removal from the scene made way for Wentworth, who was soon raised to the peerage as Baron Wentworth. He was made president of the Council of the North, and from this time took a leading part in the king's councils.

Buckingham's assassination.

Meanwhile the king, declaring that they did not come under the Petition of Right, was collecting tonnage and poundage as before. Alderman Chambers of London objected to pay, and was thrown into prison for his refusal.

King collects tonnage and poundage.

Under these circumstances Parliament reassembled in 1629. It at once objected to the collection of tonnage and poundage, but the Commons were prevented from passing a resolution on the subject by continual adjournments.

Parliament objects.

At last the Speaker was held in his chair till a resolution had been passed, that they who make innovations in religion, or who exact or pay taxes not granted by Parliament, are enemies of the kingdom. After this, Parliament was dissolved as a matter of course, and following the evil ways of his father, and, as a matter of fact, of most sovereigns too, the king sent Sir John Eliot and others to the Tower. After a time all but Eliot made their peace with the government. He refused to give way. His health was undermined, and when he died the king would not even allow his relations to bury his body outside the prison.

Parliament dissolved.

Sir John Eliot sent to the Tower.

Eleven years of arbitrary government followed, during which Laud and Wentworth were the king's chief advisers. Wentworth saw clearly enough that the difficulty about money was at the root of the king's troubles, and he therefore advised economy in every direction. Peace was made with France and Spain. Inquiry was made into the mode of collecting taxes, and the receipts of the treasury were increased by greater strictness.

Wentworth advises economy. Peace made with France and Spain.

In spite, however, of these economies, the king, finding that his revenue was not yet equal to his expenditure, had to cast about for means to increase it. For this end he revived certain rights of the crown which had fallen into disuse. For instance, he enforced the provisions of an old statute which ordered all holders of land to the value of forty pounds a year to be knighted. Those who neglected to comply were fined; those who obeyed had to pay heavy fees. Three years later the king took a step most galling to the nobility. From time to time those landowners who had property adjoining the royal forests had encroached upon their boundaries, till Rockingham Forest, as an example, had decreased in width from sixty miles to six. In 1633 Charles sent out a commission to inquire into the encroachments, and either to reclaim the lands or fine their present holders. In this way large tracts were restored to the forests and considerable sums secured for the treasury; but the irritation of the nobles was great, as they were the chief losers, and the Earl of Essex in particular found himself stripped of a great part of his property. Long forgotten Acts of

How Charles increased his revenue

Enforced knighthood.

Reclamation of the forests.

Parliament were revived, and offenders against them punished. For example, some were fined for pulling down houses on their estates, and others for building houses in London. The same year the king attacked the corporation of London, and confiscated the settlements in Ulster which had been given to it by James I., on the ground that they had been mismanaged. Mismanagement, doubtless, there had been, but it was not wise in Charles to set against his rule the richest city in the realm. The king's chief adviser in these matters was Noy, who became attorney-general.

In Noy's measures the chief object was to raise money, but further irritation was caused by a class of measures whose first object, at any rate, was the benefit of trade. The regulation of this was regarded by the king as one of his duties, and though the Act of 1624 forbad the grant of monopolies to individuals, Charles believed that he would stimulate business and improve the quality of goods, by granting the sole right to deal in certain articles to companies formed for the purpose. In this he was mistaken. The prices charged by the monopolists were high, while the goods supplied were bad; and as the sale of soap, starch, beer, bricks, and other articles, were in the hands of the monopolists, the indignation both of the private traders and of the consumers was widespread.

Monopolies.

Meanwhile Wentworth had in 1633 become Lord-Deputy of Ireland. There he wished to show the king how much could be done by a firm and far-sighted ruler. During his office he reformed every branch of government, introduced the linen manufacture, and secured large tracts of land for the crown. Above all, he made the army thoroughly efficient, and induced the Irish Parliament to make a grant of money. Unfortunately his reforms were carried out without regard to the feelings of the Irish, whose interests were everywhere sacrificed to those of the king and the English merchants and manufacturers. His rule, therefore, prepared the way for a terrible reaction.

Wentworth in Ireland.

During this time Charles ruled England with a heavy hand. The Court of Star Chamber stifled discontent with the government, the Court of High Commission checked the complaints of the Puritans, and punished clergy who did not keep the strict letter of the Act of Uniformity. This Court was created in Queen Elizabeth's reign, for

the purpose of seeing that the Act of Uniformity was carried out. It was on the whole useful, but its attacks on the Puritans made it very unpopular. Both the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission examined the accused, which was contrary to the practice of the other courts, and judged cases without a jury. As early as 1628 Alderman Chambers had been imprisoned by the Star Chamber for refusing to pay tonnage and poundage. In 1630 Dr. Leighton, a clergyman, was sentenced by the same court to be pilloried, flogged, and deprived of his ears for writing against the bishops. In 1634 a similar sentence was passed by it upon Prynne, a lawyer, for writing a book called "Histriomastix, or the Player's Scourge," which, by attacking the character of female actors, was supposed to reflect upon the queen. Those who offended in any way against the views of Charles and Laud were constantly liable to attack, and in 1637 Prynne was again brought up, with Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a physician, and savagely punished for their attacks upon Church government. It must not, however, be supposed that the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were wholly tyrannical. The Court of Star Chamber tried cases between private persons quickly and well, while the Court of High Commission fought hard against immorality; but these things were forgotten in the indignation caused by their overbearing treatment of the opponents of the court.

Star Chamber and High Commission.

In 1634 the king, unable to fill his purse by the means above mentioned, ventured to levy a direct tax. This tax was called ship-money, and was an old institution. To meet invasion or in time of war the king had the constitutional right to collect ships, or, in their place, money, from the seaport towns. In 1634, by the advice of Noy, Charles, on the true plea that English commerce needed protection from the Algerine pirates, levied ship-money on the seaports. The writ demanding it was carefully drawn up according to the old precedents, and was levied without much complaint. The money gained was used by Charles, not against the pirates, but to strengthen the fleet in view of a war with the Dutch. Next year a new writ of ship-money was sent out, by which the tax was levied upon inland as well as seaboard counties. This was quite unconstitutional, for there was no pre-

King levies ship-money.

tence of immediate danger. The money was paid, though with some grumbling. But when in the next year a new levy was ordered, it became clear that Charles intended to make ship-money a perpetual tax, which could be levied whether voted by Parliament or not. Had Charles succeeded he would have destroyed the bulwark of the English constitution, and it was well that John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, came boldly forward and refused to pay the tax, on the broad ground that Charles had no right to levy it. When the case was tried in 1637, seven judges out of the twelve decided for the king. Nominally the king had gained his point, in reality Hampden's trial gave a fatal blow to the government policy. Men grudged their money more when it was demanded as a right than when they thought they were giving it as a favour.

The ship-money trial.

During these trying times the settlements in America had made rapid strides. The Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* were joined by many a man who hated the tyranny of Laud and Wentworth. The new colony of Massachusetts was founded in 1629 for the distinct purpose of being a refuge for those who disliked Charles' policy in Church and State. In 1635 no less than three thousand fresh settlers went out. Even noblemen thought of being colonists. Frightened by the sympathy between the colonists and the Puritans, Laud wished to bring the settlers under his sway. They resisted, and his interference only tended to make the new states more bigoted than before.

The American settlements.

It was not in America only that Laud thought to enforce his views. He wished to bring Scotland over to Episcopacy. Greatly against the will of the Scottish people, James I. had reintroduced the order of bishops. They possessed little power, and the Scots clung firmly to their dislike of a regular Liturgy. In 1637 Laud determined to introduce a Prayer-book modelled on that used in England. The first attempt to use it was met by a riot, in which the reader barely escaped with his life, and within a year almost the whole Scottish nation had bound itself by a new Covenant to preserve the Presbyterian form of Church government. In 1638 Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland by the General Assembly, and as Charles was not expected to agree, preparations were made for war.

The Scots refuse a liturgy.

The turn of Scottish affairs had naturally been watched in England with the greatest interest. It was the first sign of armed resistance to Charles' government, and what would come of it none could tell. As was expected, the king appealed to arms. But he met with faint support, while the Scots, many of whom had seen service abroad in Germany and the Netherlands, were able to collect a formidable force. The two armies reached the neighbourhood of Berwick, but Charles, feeling his weakness, negotiated with the Scots, and the Pacification of Berwick was agreed upon. Both parties, however, looked on it as a mere truce, and preparations to renew the war were made on both sides.

The king appeals to arms.

Pacification of Berwick.

Under these circumstances Charles found himself again forced to summon a Parliament. The fourth Parliament of Charles I., often called the Short Parliament, met in April, 1640. The king hoped that jealousy of the Scots would lead it to support him; but the members, led by Pym, applied themselves to remedying English grievances, and when it seemed likely that they would refuse Charles' offer to give up ship-money in return for twelve subsidies, a bargain which would have seemed to recognize the legality of ship-money, the king hastily dissolved the Parliament before it had sat a month.

The Short Parliament.

In the summer the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. Charles' soldiers, ill fed and commanded, with no heart in their work, allowed themselves to be beaten at Newburn, on the Tyne, and the Scots poured into Yorkshire. In this extremity the king fell back on a precedent of Edward III., and called a meeting of the old Magnum Concilium, or Council of Peers. The peers met at York, and though they pledged their credit to raise money, declared for a Parliament; and the king, seeing no other course open to him, made a truce with the Scots, and called a Parliament for November 3, 1640.

The Scotch cross the Tweed.

Battle of Newburn.

On that day the Long Parliament met. It numbered among its members John Pym, John Hampden, and John Selden, who had already suffered for the cause of freedom, and Oliver Cromwell, Edward Hyde, and Lord Falkland, who were afterwards to attain celebrity. For the most part the members

The Long Parliament.

belonged to the class of country gentlemen. There were few citizens or townsmen among them, for most of the country towns preferred to choose a representative from one of the county families. John Pym, for instance, sat for Tavistock. Few members were not owners of landed property. They were not, therefore, as a class likely to be revolutionary; but to them had come down the obstinate spirit of resistance to arbitrary power which had in the Middle Ages resided in the nobility. Next to the landed gentry stood the lawyers, who were certainly not the men to readily support violent changes in the constitution. There were, however, no two opinions about the badness of the late government, both in Church and State. Wentworth (now Earl of Strafford) and Archbishop Laud were at once impeached of high treason. Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Chambers, and others, who had been imprisoned by the unpopular law courts, were released. The ecclesiastical policy of Laud was reversed, and a commission was issued by the Commons to deface and demolish the images, altars, and monuments in churches. It was quite certain that nothing had encouraged Charles and his friends to act as they had, so much as the uncertainty whether a Parliament would ever sit to inquire into their acts. To remove this doubt for the future, a Triennial Act was passed, by which it was ordered that more than three years should not elapse without a Parliament being summoned.

Triennial Act passed.

These measures occupied the autumn and winter of 1640 and 1641, and in March the trial of Strafford began. Lord Strafford was really being tried, not for treason against the king, in whose interest he had acted, but for treason against the state. This charge was very difficult to prove, and when the trial was nearly over, the Commons, fearing that Strafford would escape, gave up the impeachment and passed instead a bill of attainder, as had often been done under the Tudors. This change in the course of procedure, to secure the death of their opponent, seems to us most unfair; but it was supported by some who were afterwards Royalists, and only fifty-nine members under Lord Digby and Selden voted against it, as Strafford had few friends even among the courtiers. The attainder, however, could not be complete without the king's consent to the bill. Charles had pledged his word for Strafford's safety, but he broke it, and by giving his consent to the bill deprived

Strafford's trial.

himself for ever of the ablest of his friends. Strafford was executed on May 12, 1641. When he died the popular leaders felt that their greatest opponent was gone.

His death.

Just before the death of Strafford, the king had given his consent to a bill by which he agreed that Parliament should not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent. This measure, which was only intended to induce men of money to lend with greater confidence on the credit of Parliament, was of great importance, as on it rested the legal position of the Parliament during the war which followed. Shortly afterwards a grant of tonnage and poundage for two months was made, and terms were arranged with the Scottish army.

Parliament not to be dissolved without its own consent.

The Scottish army comes to terms.

During the spring and summer of 1641 Parliament continued its reforms. The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished. Statutes were passed against the collection of ship-money, distraint of knighthood, and illegal customs duties, and at the same time the extent of the royal forests was fixed at what it had been before the late commission.

Further reforms of the Long Parliament.

All these measures were passed with practical unanimity, but there was not equal agreement in ecclesiastical matters. The Puritans were fast becoming hostile, not only to the doctrines of Laud, but to the Church of England itself. This hostility was much due to the perverse attitude of the bishops, who were blamed for being the cause of the Scottish war, and also for their subservience to the king. However, when attacks were made upon Episcopacy itself, and the advanced Puritans brought into the Commons a bill for its abolition, called the Root and Branch Bill, and when a bill for the exclusion of the bishops from Parliament was only thrown out by the Lords, moderate men who loved the Church, and who did not see whither the extreme men were going, began to hold back. Similarly in state affairs a party arose who thought reform had gone far enough, and who now wished to give the king a fair chance.

Hostility of the Puritans to the English Church.

The Root and Branch Bill.

In August, Charles went to Scotland, attended by a committee of the Commons, who were intended to keep a watch upon his movements. In Scotland Charles took steps to secure

Charles goes to Scotland.

evidence of collusion between the leaders of Parliament and the Scottish rebels. By this means he hoped to strike a fatal blow at Pym and his friends. In September, after a long session, Parliament separated for a recess, to meet in October. During the recess the party who thought that Charles had yielded enough, seems to have gathered strength. Dread of further ecclesiastical changes increased its ranks. It seemed certain that if Charles could make his cause one with that of the Church he would get a large following.

Reaction in Charles' favour.

Hardly had Parliament met again, when terrible news came from Ireland. The Irish, who had long smarted under the loss of their land and the degradation of their religion, took advantage of the removal of Strafford and the divisions in England to rise in rebellion. A terrible massacre of the new landowners and of the Protestants followed, and the news clearly showed that instant action was needed, if English rule were to be maintained at all. For this an army was necessary; but to trust Charles with an army was a thing the Commons dared not do.

Rebellion in Ireland.

The progress of the reaction frightened the Parliamentary leaders, and Pym, who had gained such authority over Parliament that he went by the name of King Pym, determined to appeal to the nation. With this view he brought in the Grand Remonstrance, which recounted, in a series of clauses, the arbitrary acts and mistakes of the king, both in Church and State, since the beginning of the reign. It was, in fact, a history of the reign of Charles as viewed by the Parliamentary leaders, and to this Pym asked the Commons to give their guarantee. The debate which followed brought out clearly the differences between the moderate upholders of the Church and the extreme Puritans, and, after an all-night sitting, the remonstrance was carried by only eleven votes. The majority at once clenched their victory by ordering the remonstrance to be printed. In fact, they appealed to the nation against the king.

The Grand Remonstrance.

A day or two later Charles returned to London. He was well received by the citizens, and their cheers encouraged him to attack the Commons. He had now a party in the House itself. Digby was his friend; and Falkland and Hyde, the leading opponents of the remonstrance, had joined him.

Charles returns to London.

He believed that a stout blow at the leaders would still win the day, and in this idea he was encouraged by his wife Henrietta Maria. Charles' plan was to charge his opponents with treason, and on January 3, 1642, the Attorney-General charged Lord Kimbolton (afterwards Earl of Manchester) and five members of the Commons—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrig, and Strode—with high treason. This attack offended the House of Lords, of which Lord Kimbolton was a member, as well as the Commons. Both Houses took time to consider what should be done. This delay angered the king, and on January 5, attended by a band of armed men, he hurried down from Whitehall to Westminster, and demanded that the five members should be given up to him. Fortunately word had been sent to Pym of what was intended, and while Charles was marching from Whitehall to Westminster, the members fled by boat to the city. Finding the birds, as he said, flown, Charles returned to Whitehall. Had the members been there the attempt to seize them might easily have led to a conflict between the members and the soldiers, and, as it was, the appearance of the armed men at the door of the House, convinced Parliament that Charles meant to resort to force. From that moment war was all but inevitable.

The leaders charged with treason.

Attempt to seize the five members.

Meanwhile the Londoners had determined to protect the members. To Charles' demand for their surrender, "Privilege of Parliament!" was shouted in return. The Commons adjourned for a week, when they meant to conduct the five members in triumph from Temple Bar to Westminster; and Charles, to avoid seeing his own humiliation, left London never to return until just before his execution.

Charles leaves London.

Parliament then took in hand the duty of preparing for the Irish war, and it was determined to call out the militia, then the only regular military force. The officers of the militia had usually been appointed by the lords-lieutenant, who in their turn were named by the king. An act was passed giving to Parliament the appointment of the lords-lieutenant, thus securing hold over the militia. This course was unconstitutional, for Parliament was taking upon itself the duties of the executive government; and as the king refused to

Preparations for the war with Ireland.

agree to the act, Parliament determined that it should take effect without his consent. Their action, therefore, was both unconstitutional and illegal.

Both parties now began to prepare for war. The king sent the queen to buy arms in Holland, and, taking his eldest son with him, moved northwards to York, where he was joined by many noblemen and members of the Commons. At this moment the command of the fortified places was of the utmost importance. Of these the Tower, Portsmouth, and Hull, where the arms collected for the Scottish war had been placed, were the three chief. Parliament took measures to secure these, and sent one of its members, Sir John Hotham, to command at Hull. The king himself demanded admission to Hull, which was refused, and war became inevitable.

Preparations for civil war.

Both sides now raised forces, the Parliament employing their lords-lieutenant, the king issuing commissions of array. In July the Parliament named the Earl of Essex captain-general of its forces. Essex was a son of Queen Elizabeth's old favourite. He was a fair soldier and an honest man, but he was too cautious to succeed well. To pay their troops the Commons made an order for levying tonnage and poundage. Charles was worse off, and had to rely upon the generosity of his followers.

Both sides raise forces.

It is not easy to draw a geographical line between the two parties. In every county some were for the king and some for the Parliament. High Churchmen and Roman Catholics followed Charles. Puritans and Separatists followed the Parliament. Roughly speaking, however, if we draw a line from Hull to Gloucester, thence to Bristol, and from there to Weymouth, we shall find that the majority on the south and east were for the Parliament, on the north and west for the king. Two great exceptions there were. The University of Oxford supported the king; the clothing towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire went with the Parliament. These divisions are not unlike what we noticed in the wars of the Roses. The towns and the richer districts were with the Parliament, as they had been with the Yorkists; the poorer followed the king. All ranks were divided; noblemen and gentlemen fought on either side. The tradespeople as a rule were Parliamentarian, especially the Londoners. The

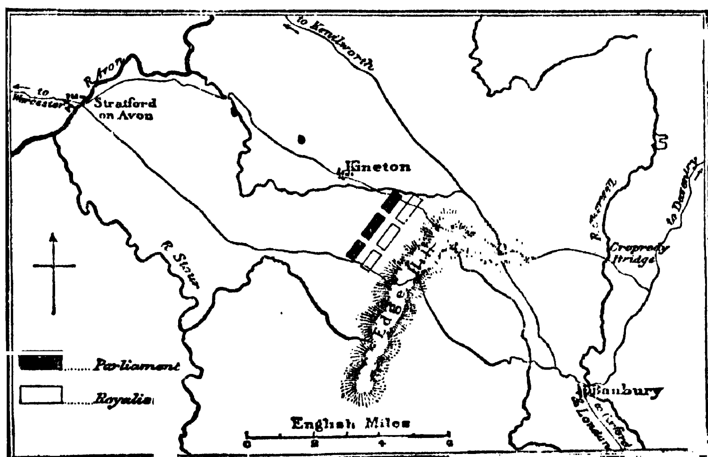
How the parties were distributed.

poorer classes usually went with their landlords. Men of equal nobility and purity of motive were to be found on either side.

In the autumn both parties had armies in the field. The king raised his standard at Nottingham, but fixed his head-quarters at Shrewsbury, where his followers from all parts could join him. His great object was to march on London, and bring the war to a close by a decisive success. Essex' aim was to keep Charles at a distance from the capital, and for this end he placed garrisons in a series of towns from Northampton to Worcester to bar the king's path. Essex himself seized Worcester, where there was a smart combat with Prince Rupert, son of the Princess Elizabeth, who had come over to help his uncle. When the royal forces were collected at Shrewsbury, Charles moved by forced marches towards London, and, passing between Essex' garrisons, gained a day's march on that general.

Charles raises his standard at Nottingham.

Moves towards London.



OPERATIONS CONNECTED WITH EDGEHILL, OCTOBER 23, 1642.

The roads to London from Shrewsbury and Worcester met at Banbury, near which the king turned aside and occupied a strong position on Edgehill, over which Essex would have to pass.

The first battle of the civil war was fought here on October 23,

1642. The king lost the advantage of his position by marching down to fight Essex on the plain. On the Royalist right Prince Rupert and his cavaliers carried all before them, but in the centre Essex' infantry held their own, and when Rupert returned he found that the day had gone against the king.

Battle of Edgehill.

Though Charles had failed to beat Essex, he was still nearer to London than Essex was, but the latter, rapidly marching to Northampton, outstripped Charles, who, on reaching the capital, found it unassailable, and was obliged to retire to Oxford.

The next year, 1643, saw fighting going on in all parts of England. In the south, Essex and the king faced one another on the road between Oxford and London; in Cornwall and Devonshire, Sir William Waller for the Parliament, opposed Sir Ralph Hopton; in the east, Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester were fighting the Royalists of the fens; and in the north, Ferdinand Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas led their tenants and the men of the clothing towns against the Earl of Newcastle, with whom was Henrietta Maria. The year opened disastrously for the Parliament. At Chalgrove Field, near Oxford, Hampden was killed while trying to cut off a troop of Rupert's horse. At Roundaway Down, near Devizes, Sir William Waller was utterly defeated, and Prince Rupert stormed the defences of Bristol, and the town was surrendered. Rupert's success was, however, dearly purchased by the loss of many officers, and of five hundred "incomparable foot," while the pillage to which the Parliamentarians of the place were subjected made resistance elsewhere more desperate. In the north, the Fairfaxes were beaten at Atherton Moor, now spelt Adwalton, and forced to take refuge in Hull. Only in the east did the Parliamentarians hold their own.

Death of Hampden.

Encouraged by his success, Charles wished Newcastle to join with him in a decisive march on London. Newcastle, however, refused, and the king was obliged to give up his plan and to besiege Gloucester, which, now that Bristol had fallen, was the only stronghold of the Parliament in the Severn Valley. Gloucester, however, fearful of the fate of Bristol, made a stout resistance, and Essex, marching with the London train-bands, raised the siege. At Newbury, on the Kennet, the king tried to bar Essex' return to London; but the attempt

Siege of Gloucester.

Essex raises the siege.

failed and Falkland was killed. Charles then retreated to Oxford, and Essex passed on to London. Meanwhile Cromwell had defeated the Royalist forces at Gainsborough and Winceby, and Newcastle himself had been forced to raise the siege of Hull. The year, therefore, though checkered, closed well for the Parliament.

First battle of Newbury.

In the winter both parties tried to secure allies. Parliament, under the guidance of Pym, signed with the Scots the Solemn League and Covenant, and an army of twenty-one thousand men crossed the border to fight in the Parliament's pay. This act, which marks the highest power to which the Presbyterians attained, was Pym's last achievement, for he died at the end of the year. The king, on his part, made a truce with the Irish rebels, and a contingent from his Irish army landed in Wales. At the same time Charles, by the advice of Hyde, called a Parliament at Oxford.

The Solemn League and Covenant.

Charles allies with the Irish.

The year 1644 opened well for the Parliament. In January, Sir Thomas Fairfax defeated the Irish contingent at Nantwich, and then turning north routed, in April, an outpost which Newcastle had placed at Selby, on the Ouse, for the defence of York. The defeat at Selby forced Newcastle to retreat before the Scottish army to York, where he was besieged by the united forces of the Scots, the Fairfaxes, and the army of the eastern counties under Lord Manchester and Cromwell. In the south, Essex and Waller attempted to hem the king into Oxford with a view to besieging the town; but Charles cleverly passed between the two armies, and then returning, fought them in detail. Waller was routed at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, and then the Royalists forced Essex to retreat before them into Cornwall, where his army surrendered at Lostwithiel, and Essex himself escaped by sea to London.

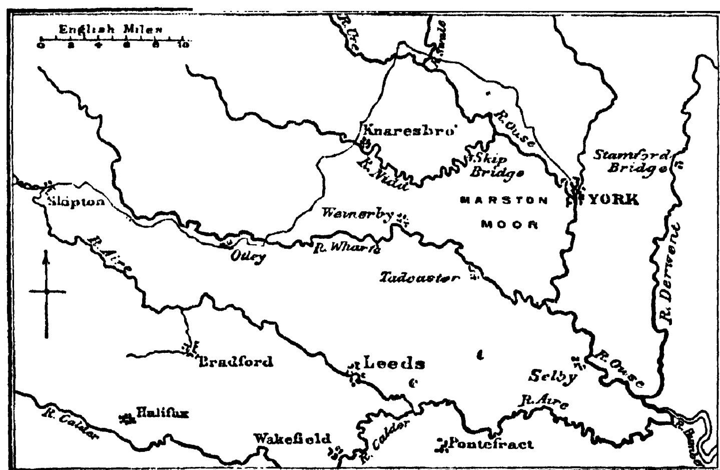
Battle of Nantwich.

Siege of York.

Battle of Cropredy Bridge.

This great success was, however, balanced by a still greater disaster in the north. After leaving Oxford, the king had ordered Prince Rupert to raise the siege of York. The prince made his way by Cheshire and Lancashire to Yorkshire, and, after crossing the Aire at Skipton, and the Wharfe at Otley, reached Knaresborough, on the Nidd.

When news of his arrival reached the allies, they raised the siege of York and drew up to meet him on Marston Moor, opposite the place where the usual road from Knaresborough to York crosses the Nidd at Skip Bridge. Rupert, however, eluded them by marching north, and, crossing the Ure and the Swale above their junction, came down the left bank of the Ouse and relieved York. Upon this the Parliamentarians retreated south, in order to hold the line of the Wharfe against Rupert's return. But the Royalists marched out



OPERATIONS OF MARSTON MOOR, JULY 2, 1644.

of York against them, and the Parliamentarians then halted and drew up on the rising ground on the south side of the moor. However, as the Royalists did not attack them, they took the offensive. Rupert's Cavaliers were routed at the first charge, and though Newcastle's foot made a stout resistance, the Royalist forces were completely overthrown. The battle of Marston Moor utterly ruined the king's cause in the north, and Newcastle himself fled to the Continent. Rupert with difficulty rejoined the king. After this victory, Manchester and Cromwell, leaving Fairfax and the Scots to besiege Pontefract, marched south, and joined Waller in an attempt to cut off the king's return from

Battle of Marston Moor.

Cornwall to Oxford. The two armies met at Newbury, and the king was worsted; but Manchester's hesitation prevented Cromwell and Waller from achieving decisive success, so the king was able to regain Oxford.

This failure brought to a head the discontent of the more energetic members of the Parliamentary party. These for the most part were Independents in religion, while the moderate members were Presbyterians. The leaders of the moderates were Essex, Manchester, and Waller; Cromwell led the Independents. This great man had rapidly been coming to the front. He had been the first to see that the feelings of loyalty and honour which inspired the Cavaliers could only be met by religious enthusiasm. At first the Parliamentary armies were strong in infantry but weak in cavalry. Cromwell, however, found among the yeomen's sons of the eastern counties as good riders as the gentry, and men inspired with the utmost zeal for the cause of their religion. From them he formed his Ironsides, and drilled them into one of the finest bodies of horse the world had then seen. These men carried the day at Marston Moor, and only Manchester's hesitation hindered them from crushing the royal forces at Newbury. The Independents now came forward, and declared that the army must be remodelled, and that the old generals must retire. As these happened to be members of Parliament, a Self-denying Ordinance was passed, by which all members were deprived of their commands. Thus Essex, Manchester, and Waller were removed; but Cromwell's services were so valuable that they were retained by a special ordinance, renewed from time to time.

Rise of Cromwell.

The Ironsides.

The Self-denying Ordinance.

During the winter negotiations with the king had been going on at Uxbridge; but Charles, who was not yet discouraged, refused to come to terms. In January, 1645, by a monstrous act of injustice, Archbishop Laud, who was innocent of any crime, was attainted and executed.

Charles refuses to come to terms.

Execution of Archbishop Laud.

By the summer the new model army, consisting of fourteen thousand foot and seven thousand horse, was ready, and was put under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. Fairfax and Cromwell met the king at Naseby, near Leicester,

Battle of Naseby.

June 14th, and totally routed him. The king's baggage was taken, and his letters to the queen and to the Irish rebels, which showed that while negotiating with the Parliament he had really no intention of coming to terms, were published.

The king's hopes now rested upon the Marquess of Montrose. That nobleman had eagerly espoused the king's cause, and at Tippermuir, Inverlochy, and Kilsyth he had beaten the Covenanters under the Marquess of Argyll. Charles hoped that he would be able to invade England; but three months after the battle of Naseby Montrose was defeated at Philiphaugh, and ten days later Charles, from the walls of Chester, saw his last army defeated at Rowton Heath. All the next winter Charles wandered about the country, and at last, in May, 1646, threw himself upon the protection of the Scottish army who were then encamped at Newark.

Battles of Philiphaugh and Rowton Heath.

Charles throws himself on the protection of the Scottish army.

Taking the king with them, the Scots retreated to Newcastle. There negotiations with Parliament were again opened; but the king, though he would have given up the command of the militia, refused to establish Presbyterianism, and they were broken off. Parliament then paid the Scots the first instalment of the £400,000 due for their expenses, and immediately afterwards the Scots handed over the king to the commissioners of the Parliament. Charles was treated with respect, and lodged at Holmby House, in Northamptonshire.

The Scotch deliver up the king to Parliament.

Meanwhile difficulties had arisen between the Parliament and the army. Since 1643 an assembly for the regulation of religion had been sitting at Westminster. It had substituted Presbyterianism for Episcopacy as the established religion of England, and had replaced the Prayer-book by a service book called the Directory. These changes had been confirmed by Parliament. This settlement of the religious question was quite contrary to the views of the army, which, as we saw, was mostly composed of Independents; and the Presbyterians, who formed a majority in Parliament, now tried to get rid of the army. Accordingly they passed four ordinances, to reduce its numbers, to deprive members of Parliament of their commands, to make all officers take the Covenant, and to pay the soldiers only one-sixth of

Difficulties between Parliament and the army.

what was due to them. The army naturally objected, and when commissioners from the Parliament came down to disband some regiments and to send others to Ireland, the soldiers refused to obey, appointed a council of officers, and by a clever move got possession of the king's person. By Cromwell's orders, Cornet Joyce and a body of horse arrived at Holmby, and compelled Charles to go with them to Newmarket. There they demanded the expulsion of eleven of the Presbyterian members, and to enforce their demands marched on London, and placed the king at Hampton Court. While this was going on they offered to make terms with the king, on the basis of restoring Episcopacy, with toleration for other sects. These terms were more favourable to the king than those offered by the Parliament; but the king, hoping that the dissensions between the army and Parliament might be turned to still better account, refused them, and escaped to the Isle of Wight, whence he kept up a correspondence with all parties.

The army secures the king's person.

King removed to Hampton Court.

Army tries to come to terms with Charles.

King escapes to the Isle of Wight.

As Charles expected, a second civil war began in 1648. Royalist insurrections broke out in Kent and Wales, while the Duke of Hamilton entered England with an army composed of moderate Presbyterians. Against this new danger the army acted with the greatest energy. Fairfax put down the Royalists at Maidstone and took Colchester by siege. Cromwell took Pembroke Castle, and then marching northward, cut Hamilton's army in two at Preston, on the Ribble, and completed its destruction at Wigan and Warrington.

Royalist insurrections.

Battle of Preston.

Meanwhile, in the absence of the army, Charles had made terms with the Parliament, and agreed at Newport to establish Presbyterianism for three years. But the army came back from Warrington in no humour to brook such an arrangement, and Colonel Pride, by direction of the officers, expelled the Presbyterian members. After this Parliament had not the slightest claim to legally represent the nation; however, the Independent minority of fifty-three members, who were often called the Rump, in obedience to the wishes of the army, voted to bring the king to

Charles comes to terms with the Parliament.

The army puts an end to the arrangement.

trial before a special or high court of justice. This proposition was rejected by the Lords, upon which the Commons declared their consent to be unnecessary. The king was then brought to London, and arraigned before a so-called court of justice, composed of some of the Independent leaders. He refused to acknowledge its authority, and the court voted him to be guilty of high treason. A few days after, on January 30, 1649, Charles was beheaded on a scaffold placed before the windows of the Palace of Whitehall.

King brought to trial.

Execution of Charles I.

The chief cause of Charles's defeat was the insolence and insubordination of his own officers, which prevented him from gaining decisive success at the outset. This gave the Parliamentarians time to organize their forces, and to oppose drilled soldiers to the brave but ill-disciplined Cavaliers. Throughout the war the Royalist horsemen could never be mustered for a second charge, while the Parliamentarian cavalry, both at Marston Moor and Naseby, showed how well they could rally. The Royalist historian, Clarendon, fills his pages with pictures of the wrongheadedness and selfishness which again and again ruined the king's plans; and shows that Charles' armies suffered defeat from the same causes which had ruined the French feudal levies at Crécy and Agincourt.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE, 1649–1660 (11 years).

Chief Characters of the Commonwealth.—Oliver Cromwell; Fairfax; John Milton; Sir Henry Vane; Henry Cromwell; Ireton; Lambert; Fleetwood; Blake; Penn; Richard Cromwell; and Monk.

WHATEVER may be thought of the right or wrong of putting Charles to death, there is little doubt that it was a political mistake. Charles himself was discredited, but his death rallied the Royalists round the Prince of Wales, against whom no harm was known, and made it certain that the new government would have to rest upon the terror inspired by the army. The expulsion of the Presbyterians in 1648 had thrown them into opposition, so that the party now in power consisted only of the Independents and sectaries supported by Cromwell's soldiers.

Charles' execution a mistake.

Hardly was Charles dead when the publication of "Eikôn Basiliké" (the Royal Likeness), which professed to have been written by Charles himself, and gave an account of his life and meditations in prison, produced such a reaction in his favour that the poet Milton was engaged to answer it.

"Eikôn Basiliké."

Directly after the execution the Commons voted that the House of Lords "is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished." They then resolved that government by a king or single person "is unnecessary, burdensome, dangerous, and ought to be abolished." A Council of State was then appointed to carry on the government, and an act passed, declaring the people of England to be a commonwealth and free state. About the same time some of the Royalist leaders were brought to trial, and Hamilton, who had led the Scottish invasion, was executed with Holland and Capel, the leaders of the Royalist rising in 1648.

Council of State appointed.

Meanwhile the government found itself surrounded with difficulties.

In England a dangerous mutiny broke out in the army. In Ireland the rebels and Royalists, who were now making common cause, had hemmed in the Parliamentarians at Dublin. In Scotland the Covenanters were levying troops and corresponding with the Prince of Wales. The council acted with great energy. The mutineers were sternly put down; Cromwell himself was despatched to Ireland. Before his arrival, however, General Jones had beaten the Royalist Ormond at Rathmines, near Dublin. Upon that, the Royalists, quitting the open country, were preparing to protract the war by forcing the English to undertake a number of sieges. Cromwell at once marched on Drogheda and sternly ordered it to surrender. On a refusal, he stormed the town and put the garrison to the sword. This terrible act probably saved bloodshed in the long run. Wexford indeed stood a siege, but, the example being repeated, most other towns surrendered at the first summons.

The Irish war.

Battle of Rathmines.

Drogheda stormed.

In Scotland the prince had been doubtful whether the Covenanters under Argyll, or the old Royalist leader Montrose, would best serve him. Montrose was allowed to make an expedition and attempt to raise the clans, but, on his defeat at Carbisdale, Charles meanly suffered him to be tried and executed by the Covenanters without a protest. As the council expected the Scots to invade England, they determined to take the first step; and, as Fairfax did not approve of this, Cromwell was ordered to invade Scotland. With a large army supported by a fleet, Cromwell took the road from Berwick to Edinburgh. He found the Scots strongly posted on Salisbury Crags, a part of Arthur's Seat. As their position was impregnable, Cromwell was obliged to retreat when his provisions were exhausted. As he retired the Scots pursued, keeping along the ridge of the Lammermuir Hills which here run parallel to the Forth, while Cromwell marched on the level ground by the shore. On reaching Dunbar, which lies at the end of a small promontory, the Scots placed themselves so as to command the roads from Dunbar to Berwick and Edinburgh. Their position was so strong that Cromwell despaired of success. He had already sent his heavy guns and sick on board the fleet, and was preparing to follow with his whole

The Scottish war.

Battle of Dunbar.

army, when the Scots, fearful that their prey would escape, and urged on by their preachers, began to come down into the plain. Instantly Cromwell saw his advantage; he dashed his troops upon the descending Scots, threw their van into confusion, and hurling it back on the main body, completed the discomfiture of their whole army.

From Dunbar Cromwell marched on Edinburgh, which opened its gates, while the Scots retreated to a strong position near Stirling. There Cromwell, unable to bring the Scots to an engagement, crossed the Forth, in order to take them in the rear. This manœuvre left the road to England open, and Charles, who had now joined the Scots, boldly abandoning Scotland, marched with his whole army for London. Cromwell, who was quite taken by surprise, sent Lambert by forced marches to try and check the Royalist advance. Lambert failed to stop Charles, but he turned him, and the Royalists, instead of marching straight to London, took the road to Worcester. This mistake gave Cromwell time to come up, and with an overwhelming force he crushed the Royalist army at Worcester. Few of Charles' men escaped, but the prince himself contrived to make his way through Cromwell's line, and after many hair-breadth adventures found a passage to France.

Scots march on London.

Battle of Worcester.

Next year war began with the Dutch. For many years the Dutch had been our rivals in the Colonies, and the two nations were bitterly jealous of each other's success in trade. The Dutch had done a large business in carrying the goods of other countries to England, where they sold them at a profit; but Parliament passed the Navigation Act, which forbade the importation of goods into England except in English ships, or in the ships of the country producing them. This law was naturally resented by the Dutch, and war broke out. Owing to the care which Charles had taken of it, the navy was in good condition, and after an indecisive battle in May, 1652, the Dutch were defeated in September by Robert Blake, the English admiral, in a battle off the coast of Kent. Their discomfiture, however, only spurred the Dutch on to greater efforts, and in November their fleet, under Van Tromp, beat Blake off the Ness. Next year, however, Blake defeated the Dutch off Portland and again off the North Foreland.

The Dutch war.

After the battle of Worcester the army became much dis-

satisfied with the conduct of Parliament. The soldiers thought that the present House ought to be dissolved, and its place taken by one more in harmony with their views. Parliament, however, wished to put off the dissolution as long as possible, and fixed November 3, 1654, as its date. This did not at all meet the views of the army, and when a bill was brought into Parliament by which all the members were to keep their seats without re-election, and also to have a right of veto on newly elected members, Cromwell in 1653 went down to the House and expelled the members. This done, Cromwell and the officers appointed a new council of state, which, in place of a Parliament, chose an assembly of one hundred and forty nominees from names sent in by the various Independent ministers. This assembly is often called Barebones' Parliament, from the name of one of the members for the city of London. Its members were animated by the best intentions, but they had no knowledge of statesmanship. For instance, they named a committee to reform the law which did not contain a single lawyer. Many of their reforms were good, but many were too violent to suit Cromwell; the army was dissatisfied, and the members resigned their power into Cromwell's hands.

Army dissatisfied with Parliament.

Cromwell expels the members.

Barebones' Parliament.

Upon this, in December, 1653, the council of officers, by the Instrument of Government, made Cromwell Lord Protector with a council of twenty-one persons. The Protector was to be general by land and sea; but he was to decide all questions of peace and war by the aid of the council. Parliament was to be summoned at least once every three years, and was not to sit for less than five months. All laws were to be made by it, but the Protector might delay any law coming into force for twenty-one days. The first Parliament was to meet in September, 1654, so that till it met Cromwell and the council had sole power.

Cromwell becomes Lord Protector.

In 1645 the use of the Prayer-book had been forbidden by Act of Parliament, and Presbyterianism established by law for three years. Presbyterianism had, however, never gained any real hold in England, except in London, Lancashire, and some of the large towns, as Bristol and Hull; and since 1648, when the army gained the upper hand, no

Religious policy of Cromwell.

attempt had been made to enforce it, and the parish churches had been occupied by men of all denominations, who used any form of service they liked, so long as it was not the Prayer-book of the Church of England. Many of these men were earnest and pious, others were wholly unsuitable, and Cromwell, therefore, despatched a commission to inquire into the characters of all against whom complaint was made. As immorality, frivolity, the use of the Common Prayer-book, and loyalty to the Stuarts, were equally regarded by the commissioners as "scandalous," much injustice was done among some good. The places of the ejected ministers were filled up by the ordinary patrons of livings, but all persons nominated had to pass a board of triers, consisting of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, who were naturally somewhat prejudiced against the Royalist clergy, many of whom were rejected. In 1655 it was made penal for any dispossessed minister to hold the office of private chaplain, to preach, to administer the sacraments, to use the Prayer-book, or to teach in a public or private school.

Cromwell's policy.

The reform of the law was a favourite subject with the army, and Cromwell appointed a commission to take the matter in hand. He also prepared for a reform of the Court of Chancery, by arranging that suits in that court should be tried in the other law courts until all arrears were cleared off. An advantageous peace was concluded with Holland. Law and order were enforced in Ireland and Scotland with a stern hand. In Ireland, Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, ruled from 1654 to 1659. Under him the property of the Irish Catholics and Royalists was forfeited, and divided among those who had lent money for the war and the Cromwellian soldiery. The new settlers, like the Ulstermen, were vigorous improvers of the country, but the confiscation of the lands of the Irish was as unjust then as it had been in 1608. Scotland was under the rule of George Monk, who reduced the Highlands to order. Presbyterianism ceased to be established, but there was no religious persecution. The union with England did much good to Scottish trade, and Cromwell's rule was a time of great peace and prosperity for that country. At home and abroad Cromwell showed himself a vigorous and successful administrator. The elevation of the Protector was the signal for plots against his

life; but the first of these, contrived by Gerard and Vowell, was detected, and the plotters executed.

On September 3, 1654, the first Protectorate Parliament met. A great many members had been taken away from small or decayed towns and given to large unrepresented towns, while the counties received members in proportion to their population. Four hundred members sat for England, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland, so that the Parliament represented the whole of the British Isles, and not England and Wales only, as previous Parliaments had done. When it met, the extreme Republicans, headed by Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Bradshaw, and Scot, insisted upon debating the advisability of government by a single person. This was to strike at the very root of the present settlement, and Cromwell found it necessary to exact a pledge from the members that they would not attempt to alter the form of government, and excluded about a hundred members who refused to give it. At length, after a stormy session, Parliament was dissolved in January, 1655. Its dissensions encouraged the Royalists, and a number of them, under Penruddock and Wagstaff, seized the judges who had come to hold the assizes at Salisbury, and attempted to raise the country. The movement, however, was a complete failure, and it was clear that so long as the army was united casual insurrections had no chance of success. The plot, however, gave Cromwell an excuse for dividing England into eleven military districts, and placing each of them under a major-general, who paid himself and his men out of the estates of the Royalists, and ruled with almost despotic power.

The first Protectorate Parliament.

Failure of Penruddock's rising.

In foreign affairs Cromwell went back to the policy of Queen Elizabeth. The Stuart friendship with Spain had always been unpopular; Cromwell, therefore, made war with Spain, in alliance with France, as Elizabeth had done. By this time the chief European nations had acquired considerable colonies in the New World. Cromwell was the first to realize that, as England was a naval power, the best policy for her was to attack the colonies of her opponents, and this plan was steadily followed afterwards. In 1655 Penn and Venables made an expedition to

Cromwell allies with France against Spain.

We begin to acquire our enemies' colonies.

the West Indies, and though they failed to take San Domingo, they captured Jamaica, which the English hold at the present day. The French were glad enough to join with us against Spain, and, to please Cromwell, ordered Charles to quit their territory. In 1658 an army of English and French troops beat the Spaniards in the battle of the Dunes, or sand-hills, on the Netherland coast, and captured Dunkirk, which was handed over to England just a hundred years after the loss of Calais. Cromwell made it his aim to make England feared abroad, and on his remonstrance the Duke of Savoy, in 1656, gave up persecuting the Protestant Vaudois, whose cause had been pleaded by Milton.

Capture of Jamaica.

Defeat of the Spaniards. Capture of Dunkirk.

In 1656 Cromwell again called a Parliament, as he did not wish to be an arbitrary ruler. To avoid the difficulties of the last Parliament, above ninety Republicans and Presbyterians were not allowed to take their seats. The new Parliament wished Cromwell to take the title as well as the powers of king, and to call a house of lords: this would have had the advantage of securing Cromwell's officials from prosecutions for treason in event of a restoration, because they would have come under the *de facto* statute of Henry VII., according to which no one could be prosecuted for treason for holding office under a king who was actually reigning. The name of king, however, was still odious to the army, without whose support Cromwell could not hope to keep his place. He was, therefore, obliged to decline the title of king, but accepted the Humble Petition and Advice, by which the office of Protector was made hereditary; and the old constitution of England, with the changes introduced by the Long Parliament before the war, was practically restored. All forms of faith except Roman Catholicism and Socinianism were to be tolerated, but no denomination was established as the State Church. At the beginning of 1658 the re-organized Parliament met, but Cromwell's enemies in the Commons made agreement with the lords impossible, and it was soon dissolved.

Cromwell's second Parliament.

Cromwell declines the title of king.

After this Cromwell's health grew rapidly worse, and in 1658, worn out by anxiety, he died. Cromwell was a really great man; his military genius secured his pre-eminence in a time of war. When he had become the leader of the country, he

Death of Cromwell.

showed his sagacity and practical wisdom by the moderation of his acts; but he failed to make his rule permanent, because an attempt to govern the majority of a nation by a minority supported by an armed force, can in the nature of things only be transitory, and there is little doubt that a freely elected Parliament, any time after the beginning of the war, would have given a majority, possibly to the Royalists, certainly to the Royalists and Presbyterians combined.

On Cromwell's death the council declared his eldest son, Richard, Protector. It was unfortunate that the second son, Henry, who was a capable soldier and experienced statesman, could not have succeeded; for Richard, though a kindly gentleman, was neither a statesman nor a soldier, and had not the religious character which was necessary to win the respect of the zealots. His accession, however, passed off without disturbance; but when his first Parliament met, the old dissensions broke out, and Richard found that he must either trust to the support of the army or that of Parliament. He preferred the army, and Parliament was dissolved. The soldiers then took matters into their own hands, and recalled the remains of the Long Parliament, generally called the Rump; and Richard, finding himself neglected, left Whitehall and retired to private life. These events naturally encouraged insurrection, and a rising broke out in Cheshire, under Booth, which was promptly put down by Lambert. On Lambert's return to London he was dismissed by the Parliament, so the next day he marched on Westminster, and for the second time the army expelled the Rump.

Richard Cromwell becomes Protector.

Parliament dissolved.

The army was now supreme, but its power was threatened by the march from Scotland of General Monk, Cromwell's officer in that country. Monk was a cautious man and kept his own counsel, but it was thought that he was opposed to the leaders of the English army. Accordingly Lambert marched north to fight him; but Lord Fairfax, who since the Protectorate had retired from public life, mustered the Yorkshire militia and threatened to join Monk. Upon this Lambert's troops dispersed, and Monk, marching without opposition to London, declared for a free Parliament. He then forced the Rump, which had resumed its sittings on Lambert's departure, to dissolve itself

Monk, joined by Lord Fairfax, marches on London.

End of the Rump Parliament.

in accordance with the act of 1641; and called a new Parliament, or Convention (because it was not summoned by a king), to meet in April.

The Convention Parliament.

The Convention was elected, not according to Cromwell's plan, but by the old boroughs. It was composed almost entirely of Royalists and Presbyterians, who had hitherto been kept in subjection by the army, of whose rule all England, with the exception of a few fanatics, was heartily tired. With one voice the Convention determined to recall Charles, who was in no way responsible for the ill deeds of his father. Charles was only too glad to respond, and amidst the enthusiasm of the whole nation he landed at Dover, and entered London on his birthday, May 29, 1660.

Charles recalled.

CHIEF BATTLES AND SIEGES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Battle of Edgehill	October, 1642
,, Chalgrove Field	June, 1643
,, Atherton Moor	June, ——
,, Roundaway Down	July, ——
,, Gainsborough	July, ——
Siege of Gloucester	August 10—September 5, ——
First battle of Newbury	September 20, ——
Battle of Winceby	October, ——
,, Nantwich	January, 1644
,, Selby	April, ——
,, Cropredy Bridge	June 29, ——
,, Marston Moor	July 2, ——
Surrender at Lostwithiel	September, ——
Second battle of Newbury	October, ——
Battle of Naseby	June, 1645
Battles of Tippermuir, Inverlochy, Kilsyth, and Philiphaugh	——
Battle of Rowton Heath	September, ——
,, Preston	1648
,, Rathmines	1649
Siege of Drogheda	——
Battle of Dunbar	September 3, 1650
,, Worcester	September 3, 1651

CHAPTER IV.

Charles II., 1660–1685 (25 years).
Born 1630; married, 1662, Katharine of Portugal.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; the Duke of Buckingham; Clifford; Antony Ashley Cooper, created Earl of Shaftesbury; Arlington; Lauderdale; Sir Thomas Osborne, created Earl of Danby; the Duke of Monmouth; James, Duke of York; Titus Oates; William, Lord Russell; Algernon Sidney.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Holland.
Louis XIV., 1643–1715.	William of Orange, Stadtholder, 1672–1702.

Charles II. became king at the age of thirty. He had lived abroad since he had been twenty-one, sometimes in France, sometimes in Holland. He was a man of great natural sagacity, and his checkered career had given him considerable experience of men and things. More able than his father, he had more knowledge of the world than his grandfather, and he brought back with him one fixed determination, never to set out on his travels again. At the same time, he was determined to secure as much power as circumstances would permit, and his easy-going manner, which blinded observers to his real character, enabled him to gain a large measure of success. At his accession his confidence was given to Clarendon, the Edward Hyde of the Long Parliament, who, after a steady adherence to the royal family in its misfortunes, now returned as Lord Chancellor.

Character of Charles II.

The first step of the Convention was to pass an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for offences committed during the civil wars and the Commonwealth. From its provisions, however, those persons who had been

Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.

especially connected with the trial and execution of Charles were excepted. Of these many were dead, but of those who were captured ten suffered death, and others were imprisoned. A year later General Lambert and Sir Henry Vane were tried for treason. Neither of them were regicides, and they pleaded that what they had done was protected by the *de facto* statute of Henry VII., which, under the actual title of king, might be held to include a settled government. The judges, however, decided against them, and Lambert was imprisoned and Vane executed.

Feudalism abolished.

Parliament next abolished the practice of holding land on military tenure, which involved the payment of feudal dues. These dues had long been a source of complaint, for the objects of feudalism had disappeared; but it was not fair to commute them for an excise on liquors, which fell, not upon those who had formerly paid the dues, but upon the general body of the nation. At the same time, the right of purveyance, by which the king had the privilege of buying all goods he wanted at market price, and of pressing into his service carriages and carts, was abandoned.

The standing army.

The question of defence was next considered by Parliament. The command of the militia and the fortresses was restored to the king, and it was also determined to keep up a force of two regiments, and several garrisons, amounting in all to five thousand men. There is a certain point in the development of a country at which a standing army of professional soldiers becomes necessary. A highly civilized nation will not endure to be called upon to leave its business and take service in the field, while at the same time the progress in the art of war makes it needful for the soldier to have a more regular training than he can get while following any other pursuit. England's insular position, however, enabled us to do without a standing army long after the continental nations had adopted them. The Convention Parliament was dissolved in 1661, and the same year a new Parliament met. The new members were almost entirely Royalists, and so eager were they for vengeance, that the government had great difficulty in inducing them to confirm the acts of the Convention.

At the Restoration the Church of England resumed its old position as the Established Church; but it might have been ex-

pected that Charles would have done something to improve the position of the Presbyterians, to whose alliance with the Royalists he owed so much. A conference, indeed, was held at the Savoy Palace between the bishops and the Presbyterian ministers, but neither party was really anxious for union, and the meeting came to nothing. In Charles' first Parliament, Churchmen were in a great majority, and their first act was to reinstate the Church in the position she had held before the rebellion. By the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, all holders of benefices were required to be ordained by a bishop, to use only the Book of Common Prayer, of which a revised version was published the same year, and to take an oath that resistance to the king was unlawful. As a number of ministers who had been appointed to livings since the disestablishment of the Church refused to comply with these conditions, they were forced to vacate their livings on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662. As to the number and qualifications of these men, Churchmen and Nonconformists are hopelessly at variance; but it is probable that the number did not fall short of fifteen hundred, and it certainly included many men eminent for piety and learning.

Re-establishment of the Church of England.

The restoration of the Church livings to members of the Church was not unfair, but the hardships of the expelled ministers were made greater by the day chosen for their expulsion falling just before they received their tithes, so that they lost a year's income as well; while, not content with re-establishing the Church in possession of its livings, Parliament persecuted its fallen opponents. Many of the expelled ministers, just as the Royalists had done under the Commonwealth, continued to call their followers together in some barn or large room; so, in 1664, Parliament imitated the bad example of Cromwell by passing the Conventicle Act, which forbade all assemblies for worship other than those of the Church, and in 1665 it revived another of Cromwell's regulations, by passing the Five Mile Act, which forbade expelled ministers, unless they had subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, to get their living by teaching in any public or private school, or to settle within five miles of any corporate town. The political strength of the Nonconformists, of whom the chief bodies were the Presbyterians, the Independents,

Persecution of the Nonconformists.

the Baptists, and the Quakers, lay in the corporations of small towns; and, to deprive them of this, the Corporation Act was passed, in 1661, ordering all holders of municipal office to renounce the Covenant, and take the Sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. The Corporation Act, Uniformity Act, Conventicle Act, and Five Mile Act are often called the Clarendon Code; and a comparison of these with the legislation of the Commonwealth shows that, in the seventeenth century, neither the Church nor her opponents had grasped the idea of religious toleration.

Charles' foreign politics.

In foreign politics Clarendon continued the policy of hostility to Spain and friendship to France. In accordance with it, Charles in 1662 married Katharine of Portugal, which country had in 1640 revolted from Spain, to which it had been united since 1580. With her Charles received the island of Bombay, in the East Indies, and Tangiers, on the north-west coast of Africa. The possession of these places gave England new opportunities for trade, which Charles, like all his family, had much at heart. The same year Clarendon sold Dunkirk to the French. This was probably not unwise, but it made Clarendon very unpopular. It was said that he had been bribed, and a new house which he was building was nicknamed Dunkirk House. In 1664 war broke out with the Dutch. Its chief cause was the commercial and colonial jealousy which had brought about the former war, and to this was added the annoyance which was felt by Charles because the Dutch burghers were keeping out of power the house of Orange, the head of which, Prince William, was his nephew. At first the English were successful, and Sir Robert Holmes seized the Dutch colony of the New Netherlands, which lay between Virginia and the New England States. It became an English colony, and its capital, New Amsterdam, received the name of New York, in honour of the king's brother. In 1665 the Duke of York won a great victory over the Dutch off Lowestoft, on the Suffolk coast.

Dunkirk sold to the French.

War with the Dutch.

Capture of New York. Battle of Lowestoft.

However, in 1666 the French, who had always been friends with the burgher party, came to their assistance. In spite of this the English, under Prince Rupert and Monk (now Duke of Albemarle), won several victories, but in 1667 the Dutch advanced into the

Thames, and burnt the ships at the mouth of the Medway. Soon afterwards peace was made between England and Holland.

This war is remarkable for another point. In 1665 Parliament granted £1,250,000 to be spent on the war only, so beginning the practice of making special votes for special things, called appropriation of supplies, which gave it a much more efficient control over expenditure than when money was voted to be added to the general fund, to be spent at the discretion of the government.

Appropriation of supplies.

Besides the failure of the Dutch war, England had been unfortunate in other respects. In 1665 occurred the Great Plague, the last of the great pestilences which from time to time devastated the filthy alleys and narrow streets which formed the towns of mediæval Europe, and in September the next year a great fire raged for four days, which destroyed St. Paul's Cathedral and the greater part of the city of London. Clarendon was also unpopular with the king, of whose dissipated life he disapproved, and so, when an outcry was raised against him, he was dismissed from his post and impeached in 1667. By Charles' advice he fled to the Continent, where he spent the remainder of his life in completing a history of the Great Rebellion which he had begun during his former exile.

The Fire of London.

Clarendon is impeached, and flies to the Continent.

During Clarendon's ministry important events occurred in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, in spite of the wishes of the people, the old form of government was restored, Episcopacy re-established, and the persecution of the Covenanters begun. In Ireland an Act of Settlement was passed, by which a certain amount of the land forfeited by Cromwell was restored to the Catholics and Royalists. Unhappily, the English Parliament did all it could to injure Irish trade, in the interests of the English merchants and manufacturers. The Irish were forbidden to trade with the English colonies, or to enjoy the benefit of the Navigation Act. They were also forbidden to export to England either cattle, meat, or butter, so that everything was done to check the development of the country.

Events in Scotland.

Treatment of the Irish.

After Clarendon's fall, the king gave his confidence to a group of five statesmen—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. Such a group was called a "Cabal," but as this word is formed

by the first letters of these statesmen's names, it is often thought that it was derived from them. The Cabal was really very much like the modern Cabinet. The chief aim of the Cabal was to reverse Clarendon's policy, and they therefore formed a Triple Alliance, between Holland, Sweden, and England, against France. This policy was probably quite right, for France, not Spain, was now the most dangerous power in Europe, and the treaty was therefore very popular in England. The ministry also tried to induce Parliament to do something for the Catholics and Nonconformists, but without success. To Charles the Triple Alliance was distasteful. Under his mother's influence, both he and his brother James, Duke of York, were attached to the Roman Catholic faith, and he believed that Louis' aid would alone enable him to openly declare his religion. Accordingly, in 1670, Charles made with France the secret treaty of Dover, by which he agreed to make war upon Holland and to declare himself a Catholic, upon condition that Louis should pay to him a large sum of money, and that he should also receive a share of Holland when it had been conquered. Of this treaty the nation knew nothing, and only Clifford and Arlington were aware that Charles had promised to declare himself a Catholic. Charles well knew that Parliament would disapprove of his new policy, so as soon as he had induced it to make a liberal grant for the navy, under the impression that war was to be declared against France, it was prorogued, and did not meet again for nearly two years.

The Cabal.

The Triple Alliance.

Distasteful to Charles.

Secret treaty with France.

Meanwhile, to add to his resources, the king gave notice that he was not going to pay back the loans which fell due this year, but that only the interest on them would be paid. By this means Charles kept a large sum of ready money which ought to have gone to his creditors; but the transaction really amounted to a national bankruptcy, and the greatest consternation prevailed among those capitalists who had reckoned on the payment of the money due to them. Next, to try the temper of the nation, the Duke of York was publicly received into the Roman Catholic Church, and then a Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed, by which the king suspended the operation of all Acts of Parlia-

Charles refuses to repay the loans.

Duke of York received into the Roman Catholic Church.

ment against Nonconformists and Catholics. These acts filled the nation with consternation, and the surprise was still greater when the English fleet suddenly issued from Portsmouth, and, without even a declaration of war, attacked the Dutch spice fleet which was peacefully anchored off the Isle of Wight. The Dutch beat off the attack, but war was simultaneously declared against them by England and France, and a great battle was fought in Southwold Bay, which, however, was indecisive.

English attack the Dutch.

Battle of Southwold Bay.

In the beginning of 1673 Parliament met. The members were in high dudgeon. They at once forced Charles to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence, and thinking that the cause of his misdeeds lay in his having Catholic ministers, passed the Test Act, by which it was ordered that all persons holding office under the crown were to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and make a declaration against transubstantiation. This act made it impossible for a declared Catholic to hold office. Clifford resigned, and the Duke of York gave up his office of High Admiral. Ashley, now Lord Shaftesbury, and Buckingham left office and joined the opposition; Arlington's influence declined, and he resigned in 1674; Lauderdale alone kept his place in Scotland.

The Cabal ministry broken up.

Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards known as Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, now became Lord Treasurer and leading minister. In foreign policy he agreed with the principles of the Triple Alliance, and at home strongly supported the Church of England and the royal prerogative. Since 1661 there had been no general election, but the temper of the Parliament had a great deal changed, for Charles' government and his manner of life had alienated many of the members. These usually belonged to the country, as distinguished from the court, and so two parties sprung up—a court party which supported the government, a country party which formed the opposition. The policy of the country party consisted of strong attachment to the Church, and distrust of the Catholics and Nonconformists. Abroad they were for peace with Holland and war with France, but they were much afraid of an increase in the standing army. The existence of this opposition kept Louis XIV. in continual fear, for

The court and country parties.

he dreaded lest they should force Charles to go to war with him; he therefore played a double game. When he thought the opposition likely to get their way, he would pay Charles money to enable him to prorogue the Parliament; if he thought Charles was too independent, he would help the opposition to attack him. Consequently there was no consistency in the action of either king or Parliament.

Attitude of Louis XIV. towards England.

In 1674 Parliament met, and the country party attacked Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. The same year peace was made with Holland; by it England kept St Helena, an island off the coast of Africa, which was very useful as a place of call for our ships going to and from the East Indies. This peace made Louis afraid that England would join Holland against him, so he gave Charles an annuity of £120,000, in order that he might do without a Parliament, which was accordingly prorogued for fifteen months. When it met again, in 1677, Shaftesbury and Buckingham, who now led the opposition in the House of Lords, and whose great object was to force on a general election, as they thought that their party was stronger in the country than in the House, contended that Parliament was dissolved by lapse of time. Their reasoning, however, was not admitted, and the Lords sent them to the Tower for refusing to apologize to the House. Incited by Louis, the country party now demanded the dismissal of the army, which would effectually have prevented England from interfering on the Continent. Danby, on the other hand, revived the policy of the triple alliance by arranging that Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and heir presumptive to the crown, should marry her cousin, William of Orange,[1] Stadtholder of Holland. This marriage

Peace concluded with Holland.

Louis bribes Charles.

Struggles between Court and Opposition.

The Dutch marriage.

[1] GENEALOGY OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

William the Silent, d. 1584.

Maurice, d. 1625. — Frederick Henry, d. 1647.

(son of Frederick Henry:) William II. m. Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England, d. 1650. — d. 1660.

(son of William II. and Mary:) William III. of England d. 1702.

was thoroughly popular. William was fighting bravely against the French, who had invaded Holland in 1672, and in 1678 Parliament voted money for a war with France. This made Louis return to his old tactics, and he distributed money among the members of Parliament who were opposing the government, and at the same time he entered into negotiations with the Dutch.

Parliament votes money for war with France.

During the negotiations Charles made a secret treaty with France, by which he agreed, for £300,000 a year for three years, to dissolve Parliament, to disband the army, and not to assist the Dutch if they continued the war. In obedience to the king's order, the text of this treaty was written by Danby. As soon as Louis had secured his treaty with the Dutch, he revenged himself on Danby, whom he had never forgiven for the marriage of William and Mary, by disclosing his share in the French treaty to the leaders of the country party. Upon this the Commons impeached Danby, and, to save him, Charles in 1679 dissolved Parliament, after it had sat since 1661. As had been expected, the country party were much stronger in the new House, and were able to renew Danby's impeachment, and to commit him to the Tower, where he remained till the end of the reign.

Charles' secret treaty with France.

Louis betrays Danby.

Danby's impeachment.

Three administrations, those of Clarendon, the Cabal, and Danby, had now been overthrown by the votes of Parliament, and many thought that such sharp contests between the king and Parliament ought to be avoided. Others disliked the new practice of giving the chief power to a small and secret committee of the Privy Council, such as the Cabal had been, and accordingly Sir William Temple brought forward a plan for making the Privy Council much more important, so that it might act as a check upon both the king and the Parliament. The new council included not only the leading ministers, Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Sir William Temple, Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, and George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, but also Shaftesbury, William, Lord Russell, and other leaders of the country party. The plan, however, did not work well, and power soon fell, as before, into the hands of a small body of confidential advisers, which developed into the modern cabinet.

Failure of plan for making Privy Council more important.

Meanwhile all England had been agitated by the story of a Popish Plot. Ever since the gunpowder conspiracy the country had been ready enough to believe any stories against the Roman Catholics, and in 1666 it was seriously thought that the fire of London had been caused by them. There was no doubt, too, that Charles and James were secretly working in favour of the Catholics, and this added to the anxiety of the nation. But in 1678 an impostor, called Titus Oates, came forward with an absurd story of a plot of the Catholics to murder the king and the Duke of York, who were their best friends. In spite of the obvious falseness of the story, it created such excitement that hundreds of Catholics were arrested, and the king, feeling the weakness of his position as an unacknowledged Catholic, did not dare to interfere on their behalf. Accordingly, while the panic lasted many Catholics, of whom the chief was Viscount Stafford, were executed, and the ill feeling against that body was increased.

The Popish Plot.

One result of this was an attempt to exclude the Duke of York from the throne, and in 1679 a bill for this purpose was brought into the Commons. If James were excluded, it was proposed to put the Protestant Mary and her husband William on the throne. This made the bill popular, and secured it the good will of William of Orange, who wanted English help against France. The king refused to sacrifice the interests of his brother, and dissolved the Parliament. This dissolution is notable for another event. At it the king gave his consent to the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which provided that no Englishman should be kept in prison without trial, and gave facilities to a prisoner for obtaining either a speedy trial or release on bail.

Attempt to exclude the Duke of York from the throne.

Charles consents to the Habeas Corpus Act.

The fourth Parliament of Charles met in 1680. The country was now in a state of wild excitement. In Scotland, a party of fanatics had murdered Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the head of the Episcopal Church, and the Covenanters had risen in revolt against the government, which had defeated them at Bothwell Brigg.

Battle of Bothwell Brigg.

In England, the king's delay to summon a Parliament had revived all the party feeling of the previous reign. On the one side petitions were sent to the king, urging him to assemble

Parliament; on the other, counter petitions were sent from those who abhorred the Exclusion Bill. From this came the names of "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers," which were afterwards changed into Whigs and Tories. These names were given to the parties by their opponents. Whig was supposed to denote the Presbyterians of Scotland, who were sometimes called Whigamoors, with whom the Exclusionists were said to be allied; and a Tory was properly an Irish brigand. It is needless to say that these names soon lost their original meaning, and were adopted as honourable distinctions by the two parties. Both Whigs and Tories were in favour of government by king and Parliament; but the Tories thought much of the king's divine right, while the Whigs were inclined to look upon him as only an official. On the other hand, the Tories were stout supporters of the Church, while the Whig members, though themselves Churchmen, leaned to alliance with the Nonconformists. Members of both parties were to be found in all ranks of society, for in England Whig and Tory have never been class distinctions.

Whigs and Tories.

In 1680 the Whigs were in favour of the Exclusion Bill, while the Tories, on their theory of divine right, were opposed to changing the order of succession. However, in the House of Commons a large majority were Whigs, and the bill was passed by them and sent up to the House of Lords. In that House it was defeated by the influence of the Prince of Orange. So long as Mary was to succeed Charles, the Prince had been eager for the bill; but some of the extreme Whigs were now pressing the claims of the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, and this turned the prince against it. The supporters of the bill did not despair, but the next year Charles declared that he would never give his consent to it; and when it was again brought forward, and the Commons threatened to stop supplies, Parliament was dissolved in 1681.

Defeat of the Exclusion Bill.

The elections were conducted amidst great excitement, but the Whigs had a majority at the polls, and it seemed certain that the struggle would be renewed with much rancour. In these circumstances Charles acted with skill; he fixed the place of meeting at Oxford, which had been his father's head-quarters, and was stoutly Tory, while he

Parliament meets at Oxford.

disposed his regular troops between Oxford and London, which was the stronghold of the Whigs. To Oxford the members came with troops of servants, the Whigs wearing blue ribands as their party colour. Civil war seemed to be imminent, when Charles, after offering that James should only reign in name, and that the administration should be in the hands of Protestants—a proposal which the Commons rejected—suddenly dissolved Parliament.

This done, the Whigs were no longer an organized body; the members were forced to disperse, and so long as the king could do without a Parliament, they had no chance of gaining their ends but by insurrection. But there was little chance of Charles calling a Parliament. Louis, to whom a union of the powers of England and Holland under William of Orange would be most dangerous, agreed to give Charles £250,000 in the next three years, which relieved Charles of his immediate difficulties. The next step of the government was to prosecute Shaftesbury, the leader of the opposition, for treason; but the grand jury of London, who were Whigs, ignored the bill, and the trial thus falling through, Shaftesbury left the country in 1682, and died next year. Shaftesbury was an able man, and his scheme to exclude James had been very nearly successful, and had only failed on account of his foolish substitution of Monmouth for Mary as the king's successor. Undeterred, however, by the fall of his supporters, Monmouth had by no means given up hopes of the crown. In 1682 he made a progress through England, in which he assumed royal state, and pretended to have the power of curing people, by his touch, of the king's evil, which it was supposed to be in the king's power to do.

Discomfiture of the Whigs.

Prosecution of Shaftesbury.

Monmouth's supporters.

Experience had taught Charles that he could not maintain his ministers in face of a hostile Parliament. He therefore determined to try and secure a permanent majority in the Commons. The strength of the Whigs lay in the boroughs, that of the Tories in the counties. The election of borough members was usually in the hands of a close corporation, that is to say, one which filled up its own vacancies. These bodies were usually Whig, and Charles saw that if he could get rid of the existing members and replace them by Tories, he

Parliamentary boroughs remodelled.

could look forward to a great increase in the number of Tory members. Accordingly, he began by demanding the charter of the city of London, and, on pretence that it had been violated in some particular, forfeited it and immediately regranted it, only naming a new Tory corporation. He then issued a series of writs of "Quo warranto," by which he forfeited almost all the charters of the Parliamentary boroughs, few of which, in course of time, had not in some way infringed the terms of their charters. In restoring these charters the king reserved to himself the right of confirming all elections to municipal offices, and, in case he were dissatisfied, of naming the officers himself.

Meanwhile violent schemes had been discussed by the Whig party. It is certain that the leaders had set their face against any resort to arms, but their followers had not been so moderate, and a few of the more reckless, at the head of whom was an old soldier, named Rumbold, had planned to murder the king and the Duke of York at the Rye House on their return from Newmarket to London. The scheme failed, and some of the plotters were arrested. The government then took the unjustifiable course of arresting William, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, and trying them along with the other prisoners, as if they had been concerned in one widespread conspiracy. The evidence against them was ridiculously slight, but by browbeating the witnesses and intimidating the jury the judges contrived to get verdicts for the crown. Both were executed, and were looked upon as martyrs to the Whig cause. The next year Monmouth was pardoned for his late extravagant proceedings, but was banished to Holland.

Rye-House plot.

Arrest of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.

This brought to a conclusion Charles' triumph over his opponents. He was now little less than an absolute king. He possessed a small standing army, and named the officers of the militia and the commanders of fortresses; he dismissed the judges as he thought fit, and could secure the services of compliant jurymen; the appointment of magistrates was practically in his hands; and, more than all, by remodelling the corporations he had secured the means of packing the House of Commons.

Triumph of Charles.

On February 6, the next year, at the height of his power,

Charles suddenly died. He was a man of consummate ability, who concealed under the appearance of frivolity a talent for intrigue, which baffled the ablest statesmen of his day. On his death-bed he admitted that he was a Roman Catholic, and received absolution from a Catholic priest. By his wife, Katharine of Braganza, he had no children; but he left a large family of natural children, most of whom were raised to the peerage. His heir, therefore, was James, Duke of York, who had married Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

Death of Charles II.

In 1662 a most important change was made in the Poor Law by the creation of the Law of Settlement. By this law any labourer, coming to seek work in a strange parish, might within forty days be removed back to his own parish, unless he took a tenement over £10 a year in value, or gave security that he would not become chargeable to the parish rates. The effect of this law was practically to bind the agricultural labourers to the soil of their own parishes, and to prevent them from settling where they could sell their labour to the best advantage. This Act was modified in 1795, but down to 1834 great obstacles were placed by the Poor Law in the way of the circulation of labour.

The Law of Settlement.

CHAPTER V.

James II., 1685–1689 (4 years).

Born 1633; married { 1661, Anne Hyde. / 1673, Mary of Modena. }

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Rochester; Halifax; the Earl of Godolphin; Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland; Monmouth; Jeffreys; the Marquess of Argyll; Hough; Compton; Sancroft; Petre; Tyrconnel; Danby; Henry Sidney; and Edward Russell.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Spain.	Holland.
Louis XIV., 1643–1715.	Charles II., 1665–1700.	Stadtholder William of Orange, 1672–1702.

On his brother's death, James, Duke of York, was at once proclaimed king. In his first speech to the council he declared that he would maintain the government, both in Church and State, as by law established. James was a very different man from his brother, being both more narrow-minded and more conscientious, and he had the same want of ability to understand the wishes of the nation which his father had shown. Still he was an excellent man of business, and had done much to improve the condition of the navy. The new king gave his confidence to his brother-in-law, Rochester, Clarendon's son; to Halifax, whose speech in the House of Lords had brought about the defeat of the Exclusion Bill; to Lord Godolphin, a most able financier; and to Lord Sunderland.

Accession of James II.

James' first act was to order the customs' duties, which had been voted to Charles for life, to be collected as usual, though they could not be renewed till Parliament met. There was much to be said for avoiding a break, as the intermission of the collection would cause great disorder in trade; but the act was

James' first acts.

certainly unconstitutional. Besides this revenue, James also received a grant of £67,000 from France. During the early days of the reign Oates, who had been the chief witness against the victims of the Popish Plot, was convicted of perjury. There is no doubt that he richly deserved punishment, and he was sentenced to be flogged, pilloried, and imprisoned for life. Danby and the Roman Catholic lords who remained in the Tower were now released. About the same time, Baxter, one of the noblest of the Nonconformist ministers, was also prosecuted for protesting against the persecution of the Nonconformists, and convicted, after a grossly unfair trial, at which the notorious Judge Jeffreys presided.

Mutual satisfaction of James and his Parliament.

In May Parliament met. Full use had been made of the king's new powers in the boroughs, and so successful had been Charles' measures, that James said himself that "there were not above forty members but such as he himself wished for." Parliament showed itself equally pleased with the new sovereign, and voted James all his brother's revenue, and, besides, a new tax on sugar and tobacco.

Argyll's rising.

Though James had been allowed to succeed so quietly, Monmouth had no intention of giving up his hopes without a struggle. Accordingly, he joined with his fellow-exile, Argyll, to make simultaneous attempts upon Scotland and England. Owing, however, to bad management, Argyll landed first. He found the government well prepared, and his attempt proved a complete failure. He himself was captured and executed. Monmouth landed in Dorsetshire, and slowly made his way to the manufacturing district of Somersetshire, where he was popular with the clothiers. By the lower and middle classes he was received with enthusiasm, but he obtained no support from the nobility. He set out towards Shropshire and Cheshire, where he was also popular; but turned back from Bristol, and by that time the regular troops under Feversham and Churchill, who was afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, had arrived on the scene. To give his untrained troops the best chance against the regulars, Monmouth attempted to surprise the royal camp on Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; but by accident his scheme failed, and his untrained peasants, weavers and colliers, though they showed wonderful courage, were routed without diffi-

Monmouth's rising.

Battle of Sedgemoor.

culty by the trained troops. Monmouth himself fled, but was captured, and though he begged James for mercy on his knees, was executed. Terrible cruelty was shown to the rebels by Colonel Kirke and his soldiers, and Judge Jeffreys was sent to try the prisoners, when his cruelty gained for him eternal infamy as the author of the Bloody Assize. At least three hundred persons were executed, and eight hundred more were shipped off to the American colonies. For his exploits Jeffreys was made a peer. The failure of Monmouth's rebellion showed clearly what a change had been made by the introduction of a standing army: formerly insurgents could bring into the field as good troops as the king, but now no insurrection had any chance which was not backed by a trained force.

Execution of Monmouth.

The Bloody Assize.

The failure of the insurrection gave James great confidence, and he now set about his scheme of securing the ascendency of the Catholics. His first step was to remove Halifax from the Privy Council, and at the same time Jeffreys was made Lord Chancellor. While James was making his preparations, Louis XIV., King of France, revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had been granted by Henry IV., and upon which the toleration of the French Protestants depended. Thousands of the best work-people in France were expelled. Many took refuge in England, and their arrival strengthened the Protestant feeling of the country. The proceedings of Louis made men watch James with greater anxiety. Even the Parliament showed symptoms of resistance.

Scheme for emancipating the Catholics.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The chief obstacle to James' employment of Catholics was the Test Act, passed in 1673. James believed that his prerogative enabled him to grant a dispensation to a private person, to hold office without having fulfilled its conditions. Accordingly, he gave a commission in the army to Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic, and then, to try the legality of this, had a suit brought against Hales by his coachman for violating the Test Act. At the trial the judges, who, it must be remembered, could at any time be dismissed by the king, gave a decision in his favour, and James, armed with this, gave commissions and preferments to other Roman Catholics. Among others, Massey, a Romanist, was made Dean of Christ-

James continues his efforts to emancipate the Catholics.

church, Oxford. James was encouraged to take this course by the way in which the Church and the universities had constantly proclaimed their adherence to the doctrine that resistance to a king was, under any circumstances, unlawful, and he therefore believed that he could make the Church of England join him in favouring the Roman Catholics. However, to secure his hold over the Church, he illegally set up a new court of Ecclesiastical Commission with Jeffreys at its head; while, to overawe the capital, he formed a camp of thirteen thousand troops on Hounslow Heath. Feeling confident in these measures, James now began to put Catholics into all the chief posts. Clarendon, son of the chancellor, was recalled from Ireland, and the lord-lieutenantcy given to Tyrconnel, a Catholic. At the same time Rochester, who refused to change his religion, was removed from the Treasury.

The new court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

In 1686 the Ecclesiastical Commission began by suspending Compton, Bishop of London, and then attacked the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was deprived of his office for not granting the degree of M.A. to a Benedictine monk, which he could not legally do. Oxford's turn came next. The king had ordered the fellows of Magdalen to elect Farmer, a Roman Catholic, their president. They refused, and chose John Hough. The king then ordered them to choose Parker, Bishop of Oxford. They asserted that Hough's election was valid, and upon this the commission deprived all the Fellows of their places, and Roman Catholics were appointed instead. In this way James contrived to alienate, not only the Church of England, but also the universities.

Attack upon Oxford and Cambridge.

In 1687 the king, finding that he could get no help from the Church, changed his tactics and issued a Declaration of Indulgence, by which he suspended the penal statutes against both the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Nonconformists, hoping in this way to ally these bodies against the Church; and so certain did he feel of success, that he ventured to receive a nuncio from the pope, and to make Petre, an English Jesuit, a member of the Privy Council. If James had merely wished to grant to the Nonconformists and Catholics equal rights with Churchmen, there would have been much in his scheme to be commended; but it is clear he meant to do more, and that,

Overtures to Nonconformists.

though the Catholics did not number more than one in thirty of the population, he intended to give them an altogether disproportionate power in the State.

James tries to secure a Parliament favourable to his views.

For two years no Parliament had sat, but James had such confidence in the influence of the crown, which had the power of remodelling the corporations, that he believed it possible to get a Parliament which would confirm the Declaration of Indulgence. He therefore wrote to the lord-lieutenants of counties, asking them to furnish a list of Catholics and Nonconformists suitable for members of Parliament, and also asking the magistrates whether they would support candidates who were in favour of his views. Though many of the lord-lieutenants and magistrates were men who had fought for Charles I. in the old wars, they either refused to answer or evaded the questions, and many of them resigned their posts, which were at once filled up by Catholics. Towns which seemed likely to be refractory had their corporations again remodelled.

Failure of James' attempt to win over the Nonconformists.

James had now managed to offend the old adherents of his father—the nobility, the country gentry, the universities, and the Church—but it was as yet doubtful what line would be taken by the Nonconformists. Their treatment by the Church since the restoration had been most exasperating, and it could hardly have been wondered at if at this crisis they had made common cause with the king. But the Nonconformists judged the temper of the nation better than the king had done; they saw that the mass of the nation was attached to the Church, and that a free Parliament was certain to reverse James' measures. They also believed that James' proceedings, however favourable to themselves at the moment, were only part of a general plan to destroy the liberties of the country. The majority therefore determined to ally themselves with the Church and to trust to the gratitude of Parliament for reward. Accordingly, James' attempt to win them over to his side was a failure.

The succession to the crown.

Hitherto the country had borne James' proceedings with tolerable patience, because they believed that he would soon be succeeded by Mary and William, when all would be restored; but now an event happened which made the outlook much more serious. None of the children of James and his

second wife, Mary of Modena, had hitherto lived, and it was five years since the last had been born, when it was announced that the queen was likely to have a child. If the infant were a boy he would be the heir-apparent to the throne, which would dash to the ground the hopes of Mary and William. Of course he would be educated as a Catholic, and the present system would be perpetual. Naturally the Protestants were dismayed, while the Catholics showed every symptom of hope.

The bishops committed to the Tower.

It was under these circumstances that James was reckless enough to put to further test the endurance of the Church. In April, 1688, he issued the second Declaration of Indulgence, and commanded the clergy of the Established Church to read it from their pulpits on two Sundays. To be asked to publish to their own parishioners this unlawful decree was more than the most strenuous supporter of non-resistance could bear, and seven of the bishops, headed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, drew up and presented to the king a respectful and temperate memorial, asking to be excused. "This," said the king, "is a standard of rebellion," and ordered the bishops to be committed to the Tower. Meanwhile the petition was printed and circulated, and James' rash words brought about their own fulfilment. Still James failed to read the signs of the times. On June 10 a son, afterwards the Old Pretender, was born to him; but the king was so foolish as not to ask the Princess Anne, who was in England, or any of the leading Protestants to be present, while the palace was crowded with enthusiastic Catholics. Consequently the Protestants, who had everything to lose by the birth, spread the rumour that the child was not the queen's at all, but had been brought into the palace in a warming-pan; and as James' folly had deprived him of the power of refuting the story, it was widely believed in the country. Three weeks later the bishops were tried for libel. The best lawyers were employed on both sides, everything that could be done by the crown judges to secure a verdict was attempted; but a verdict of "Not guilty" was returned, and the shouts of the crowd told how popular was the result. That night all London was illuminated. Still the king would have been comparatively safe had he had the army with him. But his folly had lost him its support. He

Birth of a son.

Acquittal of the bishops.

had brought his men to Hounslow to overawe the Londoners, but the citizens had won over the army. Their camp had been made a picnic-ground, and the men were filled with popular sentiments. On the day of the bishops' trial James visited the camp, and as he left it he heard sounds of cheering bursting from all sides. "What is that?" said the king. "Oh, nothing," said an attendant, "except that the soldiers are glad that the bishops are acquitted." "Do you call that nothing? so much the worse for them," said the king, and rode gloomily away.

Defection of the army.

Still the popular leaders felt that they could do nothing unless they could secure a regular army which would keep James' men in check till a free Parliament could declare the will of the nation; so that very night Admiral Herbert left London, carrying a letter to William of Orange, asking him to come over with an army and secure the liberties of the people. This letter was signed, not only by the Whigs Edward Russell, Henry Sidney, and the Earls of Devonshire and Shrewsbury, but also by the Tory Lumley, by Danby, the minister of Charles II., and by Compton, Bishop of London, and there was no doubt that it expressed the wishes of the nation.

Invitation to William of Orange.

It was not, however, easy for William to respond. He had three things to fear. First, that Louis XIV. would do all he could, not only to warn and help James, but also to stir up William's enemies in Holland to prevent his sailing; second, that if he went to England, it would be thought that he had gone to head a religious war, which would alienate those Catholics who were his allies against France; third, that, if he went over and won a battle with his Dutch troops over the English, he would rouse the patriotism of the English, and so incline them to support James. Fortunately at this crisis Louis offended the Dutch burghers by passing laws against their trade, and made them William's firm friends; the same monarch also quarrelled with the pope, so that the Catholic powers were divided against themselves; while James, by bringing over Irish regiments, disgusted the English soldiers, and removed the third cause of William's anxiety. Accordingly, the prince made his arrangements, and issued a declaration in which he gave a list of James' bad acts, and declared that, as husband of Mary, he was

Difficulties in William's way.

How they were removed.

coming with an army to secure a free and legal Parliament, by whose decision he would abide.

Hitherto James had been as high-handed as ever. Almost without exception the clergy had refused to read the declaration, and he had had a list of ten thousand names prepared to be proceeded against in the Privy Council. But when he heard that William was coming he reversed his acts, dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission, restored the Fellows of Magdalen College, and removed Sunderland and Petre, the Jesuit, from the council, and restored the charters of London and other towns.

James begins to retract.

William, however, had gone too far to retract. The great lords who had sent the invitation were ready to raise an insurrection in the north. Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, whose wife was the bosom friend of the Princess Anne, sharing the disgust of the army at the intrusion of the Irish, had planned a secession in the army and the flight of Anne to the rebels. William, therefore, determined to persevere, and after being driven back once by an adverse wind, he finally sailed on November 2. Even then his plans had to be altered. He had intended to land in Yorkshire, where the northern earls were ready to receive him; but, the wind being unfavourable, he steered for the Channel, and on November 5 landed at Torbay. This was unfortunate, as the west had been cowed by the Bloody Assize. However, it could not be helped, and William directed his march on London. The king advanced his troops to Salisbury, and was preparing for battle when Churchill's treachery defeated his plans. One after another officers and men slipped over to the invaders, and Churchill himself presently followed. The Princess Anne deserted her father and joined the northern insurgents.

William invades England

Lands at Torbay.

James deserted.

In this state of things James did not know whom to trust. His first act was to send away his wife and the little Prince of Wales. Assured of their safety, he entered into negotiations, and had actually made arrangements for calling a Parliament, when, suddenly changing his mind, he fled in disguise from London, throwing the great seal into the water as he crossed the Thames. His flight relieved William of much embarrassment, and

Flight of James.

the prince was by no means pleased when he heard that some fishermen had captured James under the idea that he was a smuggler. James was brought back to Rochester, and thence to Whitehall, but, every facility being afforded him, he again escaped, and was this time successful in reaching France, where he was received with respect by Louis XIV. After James' departure William arrived in London, and as the king's flight had left everything in disorder, he at once assembled the peers, all persons who had sat in any of Charles II.'s Parliaments, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and asked their advice. They advised that a Convention should be regularly elected, which should only differ from a Parliament in being summoned by a man who was not king.

William arrives in London.

In January, 1689, the Convention met. Some members were in favour of James being still king in name, with William as regent; others thought that Mary was queen by the fact of her father's flight. But neither of these schemes being acceptable to William, and Mary most generously giving way, it was determined to settle the crown upon William and Mary, and to draw up a Declaration of Right which should reaffirm the most important principles upon which the constitution of the country rested. William and Mary then became king and queen. These proceedings are generally known as the Revolution.

William and Mary become king and queen.

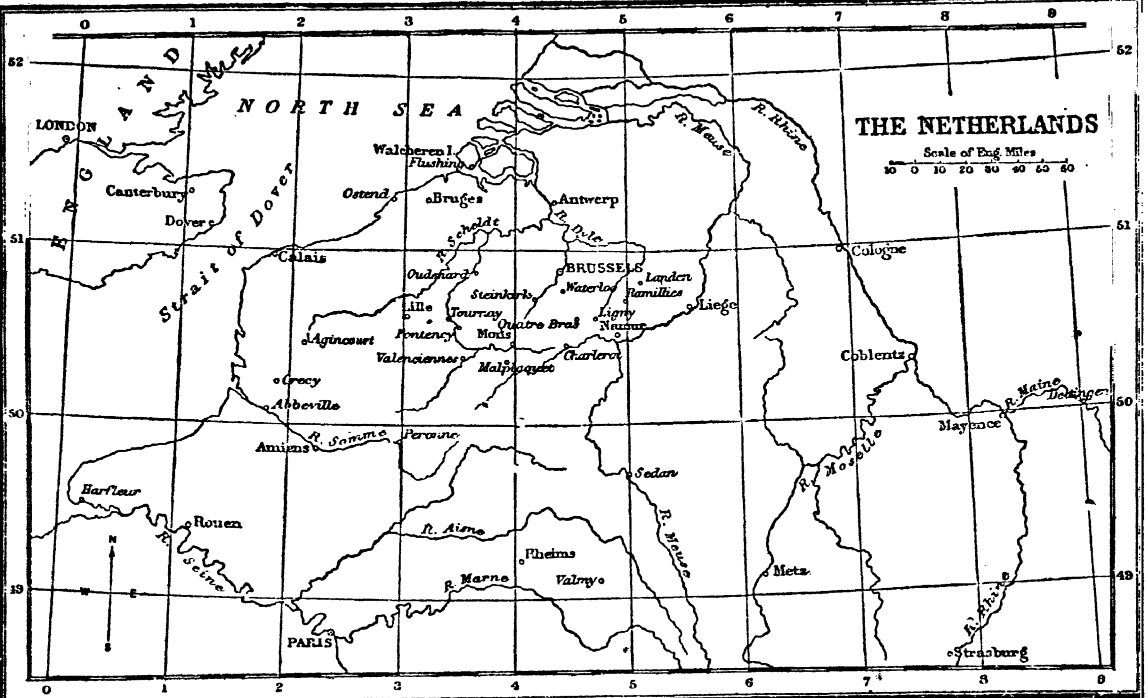
The Declaration of Right, which afterwards formed the basis of the Bill of Rights, is one of the most important documents in English history. It brought to a close the great struggle between the king and the Parliament, which had now lasted nearly one hundred years, by laying down the law on a number of disputed points, all of which during this period had been matters of protest on the side of the Parliament. After stating one by one the chief unconstitutional acts of James II., it proceeded to make the following declarations:—

The Declaration of Right.

1. The pretended power of suspending or dispensing with the laws as assumed of late is illegal.
2. The late Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and all other such courts are illegal.
3. Levying money by pretence of prerogative without grant of Parliament is illegal.

4. Keeping a standing army in time of peace, unless with consent of Parliament, is illegal.
5. Subjects have a right to petition the king.
6. The election of members of Parliament ought to be free.
7. Freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.
8. Excessive fines must not be imposed, and jurors in cases for high treason must be freeholders.
9. For redress of all grievances and for the strengthening of the laws Parliament ought to be held frequently.
10. William and Mary are declared King and Queen of England, and all who are Papists or who shall marry a Papist are declared incapable of possessing the crown. After the death of both William and Mary, the crown was to go to their children, if they had any. If not, to the Princess Anne and her children; and, in case of their failure, to the children of William by any other wife.

The effect of the Revolution was threefold. In the first place, it destroyed the Stuart theory of the divine right of kings, by changing the order of succession and setting up a king and queen who owed their position to the choice of Parliament. In the second, it gave an opportunity for reasserting the principles of the English constitution, which it had been the aim of the Stuarts to set aside. In the third, it began what may be called the reign of Parliament. Up to the Revolution there is no doubt that the guiding force in directing the policy of the nation had been the will of the king. Since the Revolution the guiding force has been the will of the Parliament.


THE NETHERLANDS
Scale of Eng. Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
Strait of Dover
LONDON
Canterbury
Dover
Walcheren I.
Flushing
Ostend
Bruges
Antwerp
R. Dyle
R. Scheldt
Calais
BRUSSELS
Landen
Ramillies
Liege
Oudenard
Steinkerk
Waterloo
Lille
Tournay
Quatre Bras
Ligny
Namur
Agincourt
Fontency
Mons
Valenciennes
Malplaquet
Charleroi
Crecy
Abbeville
R. Somme
Peronne
Amiens
Sedan
Harfleur
Rouen
R. Seine
R. Aisne
Rheims
R. Marne
Valmy
PARIS
R. Meuse
R. Rhine
Cologne
Coblentz
R. Moselle
Metz
Mayence
R. Maine
Dettingen
R. Rhine
Strasburg
N
S
W
E

CHAPTER VI.

William and Mary, 1689–1702 (13 years).

William, born 1650; married 1677. Mary, born 1662; died 1694.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—George Savile, Marquess of Halifax; Lord Danby, created Duke of Leeds; the Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Nottingham; Lord Godolphin; Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough; Somers; Herbert, Lord Torrington; Edward Russell, created Lord Orford; Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax; the Earl of Tyrconnel; General Talmash; Bentinck, Earl of Portland; Thomas, Earl of Wharton; Viscount Dundee.

Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Spain.
Louis XIV., 1643–1715.	Charles II., 1665–1700.
	Philip of France and Charles of Austria (rivals).

The new king was not likely to be a popular sovereign. Though he was beloved by his intimate friends, his manners were reserved in general society. At ordinary times his demeanour was cold, and those only who had seen him on the field of battle were aware of the energy of his spirit. In religion he cared little for outward forms, and was in favour of toleration; in theology his views were Calvinistic. In foreign politics he was chiefly animated by hostility to Louis XIV., whose ambition he rightly regarded as dangerous to the interests of England and Holland, and threatening to the balance of power. At home he wished to allay the strife of parties and to unite the whole nation in support of his foreign policy. Mary, on the other hand, was engaging in her character, and as the representative of the direct line of the house of Stuart, her popularity was of great political importance. William's views naturally allied him to the Whigs, who agreed with him that it was better to fight Louis abroad than to give him peace to arrange an invasion of England. At the same time, the king believed that he would do well not to alienate the Tories, by whom, equally with the Whigs, he had been invited to England; so he formed a ministry composed of the noblemen of both parties, in which Danby was President of the Council, Halifax Privy Seal, Notting-

William's character and policy.

The new ministry.

ham and Shrewsbury Secretaries, and Godolphin leading member of the Treasury Board, a committee which discharged the duties of the Lord High Treasurer. At the same time that these appointments were made, James' servile judges were dismissed, and twelve new ones appointed in their stead.

The Convention was then, without re-election, made into a Parliament. The annual revenue was fixed at £1,200,000, of which about £700,000 was given to the king for the support of the crown, and the rest was voted from time to time according to estimates prepared by the ministers. The first of these sums was called the Civil List. In this way Parliament secured a much firmer hold over the expenditure of the government, and the system has since then been made still more elaborate. In order to weed out all persons disaffected to the government, a new oath of allegiance and supremacy was imposed on all place-holders both in Church and State. Seven bishops and about three hundred clergymen, who did not admit the right of Parliament to change the succession, refused to take it, and became, with their lay supporters, the body of non-jurors. They were, of course, deprived of their places.

The revenue.

The non-jurors.

In 1689 the first annual Mutiny Act was passed. In the Declaration of Rights it had been declared that it was illegal for the king to keep a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. Since the Restoration, the standing army had been looked upon with great dislike by the Whigs, and it was hardly more popular with the Tories, but the necessities of the times clearly showed that England could no longer afford to be without one. A device, however, was found by which the advantages of a standing army were secured, while danger to liberty was decreased. This plan was to pass the Mutiny Act annually, so that if it were not renewed, the legal authority of the government over the soldiers would cease. As an additional safeguard, the money for the army was voted for one year only, so that if Parliament felt any danger it could, by refusing to pass the Mutiny Act or to vote supplies, deprive the king of the force.

The Mutiny Act.

The Nonconformists had played an important part in the Revolution, and were now rewarded by a bill, passed to allow freedom of worship to Protestant Nonconformists;

The Toleration Act.

their political disabilities, however, were left untouched, while the position of the Roman Catholics was unaltered. So many persons were liable to prosecution for the share which they had officially taken in James' proceedings, and in the various conspiracies and disturbances of the last two reigns, that a Bill of Indemnity was brought forward; but the Whigs tried to introduce many exceptions and the struggle between them and the Tories became so violent, that William, appalled at the prospect of governing with such a distracted assembly, was hardly restrained from returning to Holland. Parliament was then dissolved.

The Bill of Indemnity.

In March, 1690, the new Parliament met, and the difficulty was surmounted by an Act of Grace proposed by the crown and passed by Parliament, which excluded only the regicides of Charles I. and about thirty others; this number was, for the times, exceedingly moderate. In the new House the Tories had a majority, partly due to the natural reaction against the government, which always follows a great change, and partly to the unfair advantage which the Tories still possessed through the remodelling of the corporations by the last two kings. Halifax, whose character was always that of a dispassionate critic rather than an active politician, then left the government, and the Tory Danby, who had now been created Marquess of Carmarthen, took the lead.

The new Parliament.

We must now turn to the events in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the policy of the last two kings had been in complete opposition to the wishes of the people. Episcopacy had been established as the law of the land, and no one but an Episcopalian had been allowed to sit in Parliament or to vote at elections. The Presbyterians had been subjected to severe persecution, and during the late reign Catholics had been placed in the chief offices. As was natural, the news of events in England produced in Scotland a violent reaction. A Convention was called, whose members were chosen in elections at which Presbyterians voted without regard to the law. The Whigs, therefore, had a majority, and with hardly any opposition they accepted William and Mary as king and queen, and restored Presbyterianism.

Events in Scotland.

Nevertheless, the standard of James was raised in Scotland by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who called the

Highlanders to arms. The clans, however, were not unanimous, and when Mackay, William's general, marched from Perth to assist his friends, he was attacked by Dundee as his van-guard emerged from the narrow pass of Killiecrankie. In this battle the Highlanders charged the regulars with such violence, that after their first volley the English found the clansmen among them before they could fix bayonets. Taken thus at a disadvantage, they were defeated; but a chance bullet killed Dundee, and Mackay brought off his troops with great skill. The fall of Dundee discouraged the Highlanders; the movement was practically without a leader, and the clansmen soon returned to their homes, leaving William and Mary undisputed sovereigns.

Battle of Killiecrankie.

Measures were then taken to secure the pacification of the Highlands, and in the course of these occurred, in 1692, the massacre of Glencoe. This cruel act, which has attracted much more notice in modern times than it did at the time, was due to the ill will between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders of Scotland. A proclamation was issued, ordering the Highland chiefs to swear allegiance to King William before January 1, 1692. The chiefs put off submission to the last moment, and one of them, the chief of the M'Donalds of Glencoe, owing to a series of accidents, contrived to be too late. His enemies took advantage of this to get an order from the English government to "extirpate" the M'Donalds. Sufficient inquiry was not made before the order was given; and nothing can excuse the treachery with which it was carried into effect. The soldiers who were sent into the glen lived on the most friendly terms with the clansmen, till word was brought that all the passes were secured. Then, in the dead of night, they fell upon their hosts, the greater number of whom were shot or stabbed, and most of those who survived the massacre died miserably of cold and hunger. This cruelty naturally embittered the feelings of the Highlanders against the government.

The massacre of Glencoe.

In Scotland the hatred of the people was turned against the government, in Ireland it was directed against English rule. There James' preference for the Catholics made him popular, but the land question still rankled in the minds of the people, and the opportunity was taken to attack the English settlers,

Events in Ireland.

and to make a push for Irish independence. The leader of the movement was James' lord-deputy, Tyrconnel, and assistance was expected from France. The flames spread rapidly over the three southern provinces, and in Ulster the Protestant settlers were fiercely attacked. The Scottish settlers for the most part retired to Londonderry, the Cromwellians to Enniskillen. So favourable did his prospects seem, that James came over and put himself at the head of the movement. His arrival, however, only served to cause disunion, as he had naturally no sympathy with the Irish desire for separation. Meanwhile the Protestants at Londonderry were reduced to terrible straits, as they were blockaded by land, and the outlet to the sea was stopped by a boom. However, by great exertions the boom was broken, and in July Londonderry was relieved, after a siege of nearly four months. The same day Colonel Wolseley, with the men of Enniskillen, defeated a detachment of the Irish army at Newtown Butler, and expelled the rebels from that district.

Relief of Londonderry.

Battle of Newtown Butler.

Schomberg, a German Protestant in William's service, now came over to take the command of the troops, while James' men were posted on the Boyne to guard the road from Belfast to Dublin. In the summer of 1690 William came over in person; he crossed the Boyne in the face of the foe, and sending a detachment higher up the river to threaten the enemy's rear, attacked their position in front. Though Schomberg was killed, the manœuvre was completely successful. James himself hurried early from the field to secure his retreat to Dublin, and his whole army followed in disastrous rout. From Dublin James fled to Waterford, and sailed for France, leaving his supporters to their fate.

Battle of the Boyne.

While James was in Ireland, the French, against whom war had been declared in 1689, had made a great expedition against England. They had been met by a combined fleet of English and Dutch, the former under Herbert, Lord Torrington. Torrington was beaten off Beachy Head, but with great skill carried all his fleet safely into the Thames, and the French, who did not venture either an invasion or a separation of their fleet so long as Torrington's was undestroyed, retired after

Battle of Beachy Head.

burning Teignmouth. The danger, instead of disheartening the English, roused their indignation. Loyal offers of assistance reached Mary from all sides, and when William returned from Ireland he found himself more firmly seated on the throne than before.

Conclusion of the Irish war.

The conclusion of the Irish war was trusted to Ginkel, a Dutchman, and to Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough. Marlborough subdued the south, while Ginkel, forcing the passage of the Shannon at Athlone, made his way into Connaught, and won the battle of Aughrim. Limerick was then besieged, and its capitulation brought the war to a conclusion. By this capitulation the Irish troops were allowed to retire abroad under the command of their own officers; and the Roman Catholics were promised the enjoyment of the same privileges which they had had under Charles II. The Irish Protestants, however, less tolerant than the English government, clamoured against these concessions to their fellow-subjects. William found himself obliged to yield; the government of Ireland was again restored to the Protestants, and the disabilities of the Catholics were made heavier than before.

Disaffection among the nobles.

During the first years of William's reign few people thought that he would be able to hold his own against James and Louis, so timid and crafty men were desirous of standing well with both sides. Many, therefore, corresponded with James and the English exiles, not so much with an idea of doing anything themselves to bring James back, as in order to escape punishment if he happened to be successful. Almost all the great statesmen of the day did this, even Marlborough and Shrewsbury and Russell, who had done as much as any one to set William on the throne. William usually knew of their doing so, but was not strong enough to take much notice of it. In 1692, however, special attention was drawn to Marlborough's correspondence, and he was dismissed from all his offices.

War with France.

Since 1689 England had been at war with France. The greater part of the fighting took place in the Netherlands, where Louis had possessed himself of several strong fortresses, of which the chief was Namur. William's practice was to go to the wars in the summer, and return to England during the winter,

at which time Parliament then sat. While William was abroad Mary ruled alone. In the spring of 1692 Louis and James collected a fleet at Brest, and massed a large army on the coast of Normandy in order to invade England. The danger was pressing, as in the last naval battle the French had been victorious, and the government knew that Russell, their admiral, had been corresponding with James. Fortunately at this crisis James drew up a proclamation, in which he declared that if he were successful he would punish a large number of persons of all classes. This proclamation fell into the hands of the queen, who at once published it with explanatory notes; and this clever move roused the whole country to indignation. Russell, too, though he was not unfriendly to James, had no idea of allowing an English fleet to be beaten by a French one, and declared his intention to fight though James himself was on board. Consequently, when the English and French met off Cape Barfleur, nothing could withstand the vehemence of the English attack. The French fleet was utterly destroyed, and the English admiral burnt the French transports which had been collected at La Hogue, under the eyes of James himself. La Hogue was the greatest naval victory won by the English between the defeat of the Armada and the battle of Trafalgar.

Louis and James prepare to invade England.

Battle of La Hogue.

Unfortunately, the same year William himself was defeated at Steenkerke, and the next year he was again beaten at Landen. In these battles the English soldiers showed great courage, and though they had not sufficient training as yet to cope with the veterans of Louis, they were gaining the experience which enabled Marlborough to win his victories. In 1694 an expedition was sent against the French naval station at Brest; but it was a failure, for the English plans had been betrayed to the French by Marlborough. The French, therefore, were prepared, and the English met with so warm a reception that they were forced to retire with the loss of their commander, Talmash. This general was the best of the rising men. It is thought that Marlborough was jealous of him, and wished to remove him from his path. If he did, he was successful, for as no one knew of his treachery at the time, William, now that Talmash was dead, again employed Marlborough. In 1695 William formed the siege

War on land.

Failure at Brest.

of Namur, which he conducted with such skill that the place fell in spite of all Louis' efforts; and this great success made up for the failures at Steenkerke, Landen, and Brest. Two years later peace was made at Ryswick, by which Louis agreed to give up all the conquests he had made since the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, and acknowledged William as King of England. This treaty was the subject of great rejoicing in England.

Fall of Namur.

Peace of Ryswick.

We saw that William began by forming a government from the members of both parties. This plan, however, did not work well, for the opinions of Whigs and Tories were so different that they could not act together. Under these circumstances, Sunderland, the clever but unscrupulous minister of James II., advised William in 1693 to form a united Whig ministry by gradually weeding all the Tories out of the government. William took this advice, and carried it out between 1693 and 1695. In that year the Duke of Leeds, formerly Marquess of Carmarthen, was forced to give up his post, and Godolphin, who was a clever financier but cared little for either party, remained the only Tory in the government.

Party government.

William's reign was remarkable for many financial changes. In this department his chief advisers were Godolphin and Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1693 Montague originated the National Debt. It had long been the practice for English kings to borrow money on their own security, and Parliament had often been appealed to to pay their debts. William's position, however, was so precarious that he would have had much difficulty in borrowing money, and at the same time it would not have been politic to levy heavy taxes. Meanwhile the expenses of the war were great, and Montague, therefore, devised the plan of borrowing money on the security of the government, so that the money was lent, not to the king, but to the nation, and was, therefore, called the National Debt. This was also useful to the government, in a special way, because the national creditors, fearing lest, if William were deposed, the debt should be repudiated, were eager supporters of the Revolution.

The National Debt.

In 1694 the Bank of England was established. It was a corporation or company who in that year lent £1,200,000 to the govern-

ment, at the rate of eight per cent. interest. This gave them, with a further sum of £4000 for management, an income of £100,000 yearly. In return for the loan the company were also allowed to receive deposits of money and to issue promises to pay on demand, which were called bank-notes. This institution was of great advantage to the country, because persons who had capital felt that they could safely lend it to the bank, while the bank in their turn lent it out to enterprising people whom they could trust, and in this way trade was benefited and both parties were advantaged.

Bank of England established.

The establishment of the bank still further united the mercantile classes in support of the government. In 1696 the country gentry wished to form a Land Bank, in imitation of the Bank of England; but, unlike the merchants, the land-owners had very little ready money to advance, and they could not lend their land, so they were never able to get together sufficient capital to start the undertaking. Their failure, however, was a sore disappointment to the Tories.

A Land Bank projected.

The same year that the Land Bank was projected, the government did a great service to the whole country by renewing the coinage. Latterly this had got into a bad state, partly through the illegal coinage of false money, but more because in those days money was not made as it is now, with a milled or serrated edge, but smooth. It was, therefore, not easy to say at a glance whether a little had not been cut off the edge, and so clipping was very common. This was bad for trade, because no one knew what the value of money was, and as merchants wished to weigh the money before they parted with their goods, business could not be carried on between people at a distance. It was everybody's interest that this should be put right, so in 1696 the government called in the bad coins, and gave others of the same name, but of the full value, to those who brought them. The nation paid the cost of the difference, and a great boon was conferred on trades of all kinds. The management of this transaction was entrusted to Somers the great lawyer, Locke the philosopher, Montague the financier, and Sir Isaac Newton the astronomer, who was made master of the Mint. The establishment of the National Debt and the Bank of England, and the renewal of the coinage, form an

Renewal of the coinage.

epoch in the history of English commerce, and won for the government the good will of all who were concerned in trade.

Until the accession of William III. the great object of Whig statesmen had been to oblige the king to call frequent Parliaments, and it was in this spirit that the Triennial Act had been passed by the Long Parliament. However, since supplies had been voted annually, and the Mutiny Act had to be renewed, there was no danger that Parliament would not meet every year. The new fear was that if the king got a House of Commons to his mind, he would never dissolve it, and so that for long periods Parliament might be out of accord with the country. Indeed, since the old Triennial Act had been repealed in 1664, Charles II. had kept one Parliament sitting for seventeen years without a dissolution. To prevent this, William's Parliament twice passed a Triennial Bill, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years. The first time William refused his consent, but in 1694 he gave it. In consequence of this Act, a general election took place at least once every three years.

Triennial Acts passed.

Ever since the Reformation the government had claimed to regulate the printing and publication of books, with a view to forbid such as might be injurious either to religion or morality, or were likely to spread seditious opinions. Till the meeting of the Long Parliament this duty had been exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and persons who printed unlicensed books had been prosecuted in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. After the dissolution of those courts, the press for a short time was free; but the Long Parliament itself, alarmed by the flood of pamphlets which inundated the country, again obliged books to be licensed, in spite of the protestations in favour of liberty of the press which were addressed to it by Milton in his "Areopagitica." At the Restoration a Licensing Act was passed, by which the whole control of printing was vested in the government, and printing was only allowed at London, York, and the Universities. This Act was renewed for a term of years from time to time, but in 1695 it expired, and Parliament refused to renew it. Since that year there has been complete liberty to publish, but libels have, of course, been liable to prosecution as any other criminal offence.

Liberty of the press.

During the whole reign there were a series of plots. As early as 1691, Viscount Preston, a Roman Catholic, was convicted of treasonable practices. So long as Mary lived, her popularity was William's security. Most unhappily, she died of small-pox in 1694, and this terrible loss—for William had learned to know her worth—not only cast a gloom over his whole life, but also made him much more liable to assassination, for his single life might be thought to stand in the way of a restoration. From that time forward he was in constant danger. In 1696 a plot was arranged by Sir George Barclay to murder him on his return from hunting, in a lane near Richmond. There is little doubt that James himself was in the secret, for a large French army was ready on the French shore to cross the Channel as soon as word of William's death was brought. Fortunately the government heard of the plot, and arrested the conspirators. So great was the indignation of the whole country at this infamous plan, that an association was formed to avenge William's death in case of his murder, and to support the succession of Anne. The share the French had in the attempt determined Parliament to continue the war, whatever happened.

Plots against the government.

Death of Mary.

Barclay's plot.

Just before the conspiracy was detected, Parliament had passed an important act regulating trials for treason. Up to this time the conduct of these trials had given every assistance to the government, and put the accused at a great disadvantage. Till the trial began he was neither informed of the names of the jury, nor of the exact charge which was to be brought against him, and witnesses for the defence were not allowed to be examined on oath. By the new act the prisoner was to have a copy of the indictment and a list of the jury five days before the trial, and his witnesses were to be examined on oath. By the law of Edward VI. two witnesses were necessary for conviction, but the safeguard conveyed by this rule had been narrowed by the crown lawyers to such an extent, that Algernon Sidney was convicted on the evidence of one witness, and the testimony afforded by some unpublished papers found in his desk. By the new law two witnesses were required to one open act, or one to one and another to another open act of the same kind of treason.

Act regulating trials for treason.

This law, while it secured the safety of innocent men, undoubtedly made it harder to convict the guilty. Indeed, it was satirically said that the object of the act was to make treason as safe as possible; and in the case of Sir John Fenwick, who was tried in 1697, a guilty man nearly escaped through its provisions. Lady Fenwick contrived to convey out of the country one of the two witnesses against him; but Parliament was not willing to allow justice to be foiled in this way, so, as in the case of Strafford, a bill of attainder was substituted for a prosecution at law, and by that process Fenwick was put to death for high treason.

The case of Fenwick.

One advantage alone came to William from Mary's death. Marlborough became his devoted friend; for now that Mary was gone, Anne was certain to succeed, and over Anne, Marlborough's wife had at this time unbounded influence, so that he saw in her accession the prospect of unfettered power.

Marlborough becomes the king's friend.

The peace of Ryswick, which terminated the war in 1697, had a great effect upon William's position, for it removed all fear of a French invasion. Next year, 1698, a general election took place, and a majority of Tories was returned. These men had little sympathy with William. They were smarting under taxation which had fallen very heavily on the landed gentry, who had not shared with the mercantile classes the recent commercial advantages which the government had secured. Moreover, they did not share William's view that it was needful to be on the watch against the ambition of Louis XIV. Accordingly, on the conclusion of peace, Parliament at once reduced the army to ten thousand men, and in 1699, much to William's disgust, the Dutch guards, his favourite soldiers, were sent home. At the same time, attacks were made upon the way in which William had granted to his Dutch favourites the property which had been forfeited by the Irish rebels. William had formerly dismissed his Tory advisers, in order that his ministry might agree with a Whig Parliament; he now recalled the Tories to power. Shrewsbury, Montague, Russell, and Somers were dismissed; and in 1700 Rochester and Godolphin entered the Cabinet.

Party struggles.

Meanwhile the question of the succession had again become

unsettled. Anne had had nineteen children; but of these the last, the Duke of Gloucester, died in 1700, and as the succession of her line, which had been reckoned upon in 1688, had now failed, it became necessary to make a new arrangement. James' reliance on France and his unlucky proclamation had done nothing to win him favour; so in 1701 the Parliament, though Tory, passed the Act of Settlement, sometimes called the Succession Act, by which the Electress Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, and daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., was recognized as Anne's successor. There were other descendants of James I. who stood nearer to the throne than Sophia, but they were all rejected as Roman Catholics, so that Parliament really chose the fittest person in the royal family, just as the old Witenagemot used to do in the days before the Norman Conquest.

The question of succession.

The Act of Settlement.

In the Act of Settlement several provisions were inserted which had been omitted from the Bill of Rights. By a most important clause, it was enacted that the judges were to be appointed for life, and were to receive fixed salaries, and that they could not be removed except on conviction of some offence, or on an address to the king by both Houses of Parliament. This excellent arrangement continues to this day, and has completely secured the judges from any suspicion of subservience to the policy of the crown.

The provision inserted in the act.

Though the Tories had passed the Act of Settlement, they were not less hostile to William's Whig policy, and in 1701 they impeached the Whig ex-ministers for their share in the partition treaties. These treaties were the outcome of a European difficulty. Charles II. of Spain was in poor health, and had no direct heir. One of his sisters, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV.; another, Margaret, married the Emperor Leopold I. Moreover, his aunt Maria was herself the mother of Leopold. It was doubtful whether Maria Theresa, Margaret, or Maria was the true heir of Charles. The claims of these three Princesses were represented respectively by their grandchildren, Philip of France, Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the Archduke Charles of Austria. (See note, p. 302.)

The partition treaties.

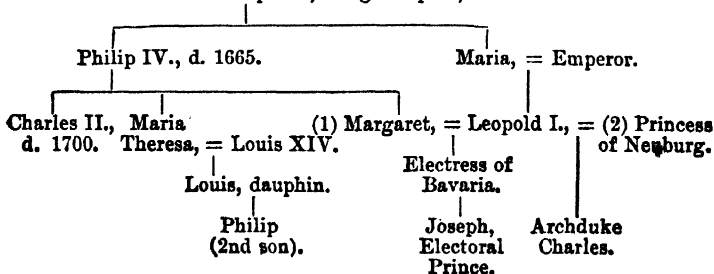
Difficulties of the Spanish succession.

The question was very important, for in Europe the Spanish king possessed Spain, the Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Milan; in the New World, large dominions in America, such as Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Cuba; and on the coast of Asia, the Philippine Islands. If the French prince succeeded, it was thought that overwhelming power would be given to France, both in Europe and in the colonies. If the Austrian were chosen, overwhelming power would be given in Europe to the Austrians. England dreaded most the union of the French and Spanish colonies; William himself feared the aggrandizement of France in Europe.

The Partition Treaties.

Under the circumstances a compromise was agreed on, and the largest share was given to the electoral prince,* whom no one feared. Unfortunately he died in 1699, and then a new partition was made between the Austrian and French claimants, William securing Spain, the Netherlands, and the colonies, for the Austrians, which suited the views of both the English and the Dutch. These arrangements were prudent; but the English Tories disliked England's meddling on the Continent, as they were jealous of increasing the standing army, and did not care for the mercantile motives which actuated the Whigs. They therefore impeached Russell, Somers, and Montague, the leading Whigs, and Bentinck, the king's most intimate friend, for their share in the transaction. They even asked the king to dismiss them from his councils before they had been found guilty. This outrageous demand disgusted the country, and when the Commons,

* THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.



feeling their mistake, did not appear to prosecute Somers, the Lords declared him acquitted, and the other prosecutions dropped.

Before this time the danger which the partition treaties were intended to remove had come to pass. In 1700 Charles of Spain died. The Spaniards had not been consulted in the partition treaties, and they naturally wished their dominions, of which they were proud, to be kept together. Accordingly, at Charles' death, they offered the crown to Louis XIV.'s grandson Philip. On his behalf it was accepted, Louis remarking that "the Pyrenees had ceased to exist." When Louis poured his troops into the Spanish Netherlands the Dutch were alarmed, but the English Tories would not fight for such a remote object. The whole scene was, however, changed by the death of James II. Louis, in spite of the treaty of Ryswick, recognized his son as James III. This act of defiance roused Whigs and Tories alike. William saw that the tide had turned, dissolved Parliament, and the nation answered his call by electing Whig members, pledged to support the principles of the Revolution and the Act of Settlement.

The French prince accepts the crown of Spain.

Louis recognizes the Pretender as King of England.

William instantly dismissed his Tory ministers, and prepared for war. Parliament readily voted supplies, and, to secure the Protestant succession, imposed an oath to uphold it on all who held employment in Church and State. All Europe was arming, and William saw himself about to fulfil the dream of his life by leading a victorious army to the invasion of France, when a fall from his horse broke his collar-bone. Such a slight accident would have been nothing to a strong man, but to one worn with anxiety and work it was fatal, and in a few days the king died. William was a great king, but not a popular one. His manners never won him the affection of the nation, and his far-reaching schemes were appreciated only by a few. In attempting to rule with a free Parliament, he had a difficult game to play, and though a minute examination can find many things to cavil at both in his private life and in his political career, he has the glory of having brought England safely through a great crisis, and also of being the first sovereign to work successfully a Parliamentary government, in the modern sense of that term.

Death of William.

CHAPTER VII.

ANNE, 1702–1714 (12 years).

Born 1665; married, 1683, Prince George of Denmark.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—**The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough; Godolphin; Rochester; Nottingham; Prince Eugene; Harley, created Earl of Oxford; St. John, created Viscount Bolingbroke; Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland; Sir Robert Walpole; Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough; General, afterward Earl Stanhope; Abigail Hill; Dr. Sacheverell; the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Argyll, and Somerset.**

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Spain.
Louis XIV., 1643–1715.	Philip and Charles (rivals).

WILLIAM'S successor, Anne, was a very different sovereign. William had towered head and shoulders above most of the statesmen of his time; he had been his own minister of foreign affairs and his own commander-in-chief, and his wishes had been the principal influence in the policy of England both at home and abroad. Anne, on the other hand, took her ideas from others, and had long been under the guidance of her imperious friend, Marlborough's wife. It was Marlborough, therefore, and not Anne, who really became the ruler of England, and for a long time he was the guiding spirit both at home and abroad.

Character of Anne.

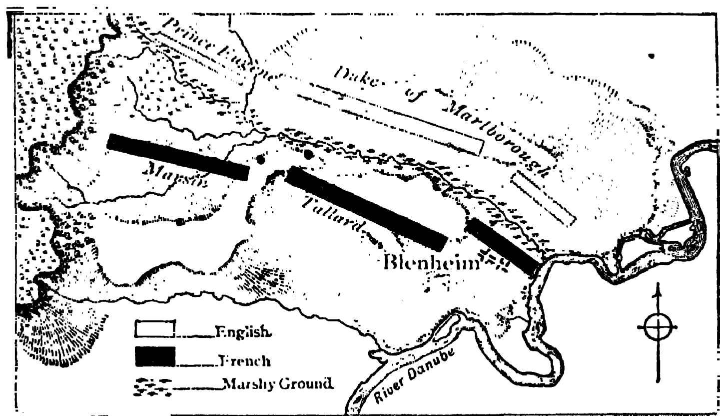
By inclination Marlborough was a Tory, and he gave the chief places in the government to Tories. He himself was commander-in-chief. Nottingham was Secretary of State, and Godolphin was Lord Treasurer. In pursuance of William's plan, war was at once declared against France, and England entered the field as the supporter of Charles of Austria, who claimed the crown of Spain in opposition to Philip of France, the grandson of Louis XIV. The war was carried on both in Spain itself and in the Netherlands. Louis had overrun the Netherlands with his troops,

War declared against France.

and Marlborough passed over to Holland with English troops to help the Dutch to drive them out. Many of the small states of Germany were on the side of Austria, and were fighting the French on the Rhine, while the Prince Eugene of Savoy was helping the Austrians to prevent the French from seizing Milan. There may be said, therefore, to have been four seats of war.

Marlborough's operations abroad.

In 1702 Marlborough's great exploit was to capture Liège, for which he was made a Duke and received a pension of £5,000 a year. In 1703 he made himself master of the lower course of the Rhine, on which Bonn is the chief fortress, and thus secured his communications with his allies on the Rhine. The next year, 1704, the Elector of Bavaria joined the French, who sent a large army, under Tallard, with orders to unite with his forces, and then to terminate the war



BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

by capturing Vienna itself. Marlborough, however, divined their plan, and leaving a strong force to watch the Netherlands, he marched with a mixed army of Englishmen and Dutchmen up the Rhine, and joining the Imperial army, under the Margrave of Baden, destroyed the Bavarian forces near Donauwerth. He was then joined by Prince Eugene. The two became firm friends, and they immediately advanced against Tallard.

That general and the Elector of Bavaria drew up their forces at

Blenheim, on the Danube. Their line was at right angles to the river, on which their right, posted in the village of Blenheim, rested; their front was defended by a small stream. Tallard commanded the centre and right; the Elector and the French Marshal Marsin led the left. Marlborough threw the bulk of his force against the French centre and left, and beat them, and then passing to the rear of Blenheim cut off the troops there from their friends, and forced them to surrender. Tallard himself was captured, and the French army was thoroughly ruined. The victory of Blenheim saved Vienna and the cause of the allies, and the English were so proud of the success and so thankful for their relief, that Parliament asked the queen to give Marlborough the estate of Woodstock, near Oxford, and a pension for himself and his descendants. Had Marlborough been beaten at Blenheim, Vienna would almost certainly have been taken; England would have been invaded, and probably the line of James II. restored. The same year Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel captured Gibraltar, the fortified rock which guards the narrow straits which unite the Atlantic and the Mediterranean—a fortress which has increased in value to England from that day to this.

Battle of Blenheim.

Capture of Gibraltar.

In 1705 Marlborough was able to take the offensive against the French, who had tried to guard the Netherlands by constructing a series of defences from Antwerp to Namur. Marlborough, however, cleverly made his way through, and the next year, 1706, he again defeated the French at the battle of Ramillies.

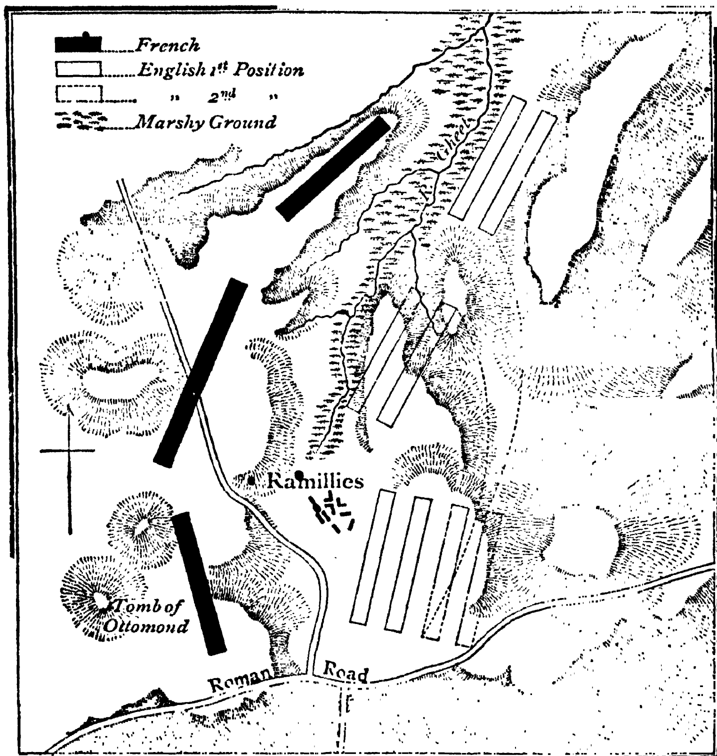
Marlborough takes the offensive against the French.

Battle of Ramillies.

In this battle, as at Blenheim, the French army occupied a strong position. Their line was formed like a crescent along some rising ground, their left being defended by a marsh. Marlborough, however, recognizing that, if he could not get across the marsh, neither could the French, concentrated the mass of his forces for an attack on the French right; and, having the shorter distance to march, he was thus superior at the point of attack, and succeeded in taking from the French the highest point in their position, called the Mound of Ottomond, from which his cannon could sweep the whole of the French lines. The French were forced to retreat precipitately, and as Marlborough was now in a position to take in the rear all the French troops who were further than he was from the French

frontier, they were obliged to evacuate Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent, and confine themselves to defending the frontier towns, of which the chief were Lille, Tournay, Mons, and Namur.

In 1707 there was no great battle; but in 1708 Marlborough and



BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, MAY, 1706.

Prince Eugene beat the French, under Vendôme, at Oudenarde, and took the great town of Lille. The next year Tournay fell, and the same year the allies formed the siege of Mons. Villars alone among the great French leaders had not been defeated, and he with a large force advanced to raise the siege. Marlborough met him at Malplaquet. The slaughter was dreadful. The French were fighting behind

Battle of Oudenarde.

Battle of Malplaquet.

earthworks and fallen trees, but in the end they were forced to retire, and Mons at once capitulated. Lille, Tournay, and Mons were now in the hands of the allies, and the road to France was open.

Meanwhile in Spain fortune had been very fickle. The English leaders there were Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, an erratic but able man, celebrated for the recklessness and rapidity of his movements, and General Stanhope. In 1705 the allies captured Barcelona, and in 1706 Galway, a French refugee general, with an army of allies, captured Madrid, while Peterborough successfully defended Barcelona; but in 1708 the allies were beaten at Almanza by the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., and nephew of the Duke of Marlborough, and Madrid was recaptured. However, the same year General Stanhope took Minorca, one of the Balearic Isles. In Italy, on the whole, the French had the better, but there seemed little chance of decisive success.

The war in Spain.

Capture of Minorca.

Under these circumstances, in 1710 negotiations were entered into at Gertruydenberg. Louis was willing to give up the claims of his grandson, but the allies actually asked him to agree to help them in expelling him from Spain, and to this the French king would not consent. Accordingly the war went on, and that year Marlborough crossed the frontier and captured Douay, a fortress on French soil. In Spain, Stanhope won the battles of Almenara and Saragossa over the Spaniards; but, by a turn of fortune, before the close of the year he was himself defeated and captured by Vendôme at Brihuega.

Ineffectual negotiation.

Capture of Douay.

Battles of Almenara and Saragossa.

Pursuing the policy of Cromwell and Charles II., the English fleet throughout the war had been attacking the French colonies, and, besides annexing Gibraltar and Minorca, we also secured Newfoundland, and captured the French settlement of Acadie, which is now called Nova Scotia. An attack was also made upon Canada, but it was not successful.

Policy of England towards the colonies.

We must now return for a time to affairs at home. Marlborough had, as we saw, formed a mixed ministry, but he soon found that on the Whigs alone could he rely for energetic support in the war policy; so he first of all replaced the strong Tory, Nottingham, by the moderate Tories, Harley

Change in the character of the administration.

and St. John. In 1706 Sunderland, a strong Whig, son of James II.'s minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, was made Secretary of State. In 1708 even the moderate Tories, Harley and St. John, left the ministry, and Robert Walpole, afterwards the famous Prime Minister, joined it. In this way the whole character of the administration was gradually changed.

Union of England and Scotland.

The great event of this period was the Union between England and Scotland. Since the accession of James I., the two countries, except for a short time under Cromwell, had had separate Parliaments, and had, in fact, been independent of each other. This arrangement had not worked well, and both countries had something to complain of. The chief grievance of the Scots was, that by the terms of the navigation laws they were not allowed to trade with the English colonies; on the other hand, the English were afraid that the Scots, by not accepting the Act of Settlement, might at Anne's death separate the two crowns. The Scots, too, feared that if the two countries were united, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland might suffer, and that the laws and customs of their country might be altered. They also feared that they would have to raise additional taxes to pay off the English National Debt. At Anne's accession the Scots were smarting under the failure of the Darien scheme. In 1699 a body of Scottish colonists had been sent out to occupy the Isthmus of Darien. As the Spaniards claimed the soil on which it was planted, and saw that the colony could only be formed to trade, contrary to Spanish law, with the Spanish colonies, they were naturally hostile. The climate was unhealthy, and the Scots had not the resources to make their station a commercial mart. The scheme failed, and the greater part of the settlers perished miserably. The Scots threw the blame on England, and their rising hostility began to be very threatening.

Failure of the Darien scheme.

William saw clearly that the true remedy lay in the union of the two Parliaments and the opening of all trade to both countries, and his dying suggestion was that commissioners should meet to settle the terms of union. Commissioners, accordingly, met in 1702, but no agreement was come to. The Scots were still more annoyed, and in 1703 the Scottish Parliament resolved that Presbyterianism was the only

William's suggestion for the union.

true Church of Christ in the kingdom, and passed a Bill of Security, reserving to the Scottish Parliament the right of refusing to acknowledge the successor to the throne named by England. At the same time they transferred the right of nominating the great officers of State from the Crown to Parliament. This attitude of the Scots made war probable, so it was met by an act of the English Parliament, introduced by the Whig, Somers, by which it was declared that after Christmas, 1705, all Scotchmen were to be regarded as aliens. All importation of Scottish goods to England was prohibited, and orders were given to re-fortify the border towns.

Attitude of the Scots.

Preparations for war.

It was now clear that England was in earnest, and the commissioners again met. The chief difficulties concerned the Church, the law, and the taxes. On all these points England gave way, and the Union was completed in 1707. The Established Church of Scotland, and the Scottish laws and judicial procedure, were secured. To equalize the burdens of the two nations, England paid Scotland £398,000, which was to be used to pay off the Scottish national debt and indemnify the shareholders of the Darien company. The commercial advantages of England were thrown open to the Scots without reserve. The Scots were not to be liable to any taxes which had already been voted by the English Parliament. It was arranged, on the other hand, that the title of the United Kingdom was to be Great Britain. The Scots were to have no separate Parliament, but forty-five members for Scotland were to sit in the House of Commons, and sixteen peers, chosen at each general election to represent the peers of Scotland, were to sit in the House of Lords. No new Scottish peers were to be created.

Terms of union.

At first the Union was most unpopular in Scotland. Both countries, however, gained by the Union. England was relieved from a great danger; and while Scottish susceptibilities on matters of religion and law were fully considered, the advantage which she gained by being allowed to trade with the English colonies was well worth a small sacrifice of sentiment. The Union made the fortune of Scotland. The rapid growth of Glasgow and of the manufacturing industries of the Lowlands bear testimony to her improved fortune, while in recent years the popularity of Highland scenery which now attracts thousands of

Result of the union.

English visitors yearly, and the residence of the court at Balmoral, have drawn close the bonds of sympathy between the two nations.

The year after the Union the discontent of the Scots encouraged the French to make an attempt to stir up a Jacobite rebellion in Scotland; but the watchfulness of the English cruisers prevented the French troops from landing, while the delay of the Pretender, who was hindered from sailing by an attack of measles, deprived the expedition of its best chance of success.

French expedition to Scotland.

In spite, however, of these great achievements, Marlborough's ministry lost popularity. At first the Whigs gained power, but gradually the long war tired the patience of the nation. There was, however, little chance of displacing them as long as they retained their influence with the queen; but Harley and St. John, who since their dismissal in 1708 had been the leaders of the opposition, had contrived to replace the Duchess of Marlborough in the queen's affection by Mrs. Abigail Hill, a cousin both of Harley and of the duchess, a Tory and High Churchwoman. Still the ministry, strong in the support of the commercial and middle classes, held its own; but in 1710 they made a great mistake in prosecuting Dr. Sacheverell, a strong Tory, who had attacked the government in a sermon preached on "perils amongst false brethren." In this he denounced the ministry as enemies of the Church. This prosecution made Sacheverell the martyr of the High Church party, and forty thousand copies of his sermon were sold. A great reaction took place in favour of the Tories, Anne herself attended the trial, and her coach was surrounded by the mob, shouting, "We hope your majesty is for High Church and Dr. Sacheverell." Anne seized the turn of the tide to dismiss her ministers, and replace them by Tories, under the lead of Harley and St. John. Shrewsbury became Secretary of State, and Ormond Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Marlborough alone was still retained in the command of the army.

Unpopularity of Marlborough's ministry.

Prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell.

Reaction in favour of the Tories.

In 1711, however, the ministry, taking advantage of the indignation caused by the attempt of a Frenchman, named Guiscard, to assassinate Harley, ventured to dismiss the Duchess of Marlborough, and then to deprive

Vindictiveness of the Tories towards their opponents.

the Duke himself of all his offices. Every effort was made to convict the duke of peculation. It was well known that he was fond of money, and that he had made large sums through percentages from the moneys that had passed through his hands as commander-in-chief; but he successfully showed that he had done nothing which was irregular, and the criminal prosecution had to be dropped. At the same time Robert Walpole, who had supported Marlborough as Secretary at War, was impeached for peculation, and, though his guilt was doubtful, was sent to the Tower. This vindictive attack on their opponents only alienated from the Tories those fair-minded people who had formerly been disgusted by the prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell.

The Tory policy.

The first object of the new ministry was the conclusion of peace with France. In this they were opposed by the Whigs and by the Earl of Nottingham, who, though a Tory, now acted with the opposition. As the price of Nottingham's aid, the Whigs agreed not to oppose the Occasional Conformity Bill which the high Tories had long advocated. By the Test and Corporation Acts no one could be a member of a corporation, or hold a civil or military office under the crown, unless he had taken the Sacrament according to the English form. Many Nonconformists had no objection to do this once, and then attended their own chapels as usual. This practice was called Occasional Conformity. The Tory majority in Anne's first House of Commons had three times passed a bill to prevent it, but on each occasion the bill was thrown out by the Whig majority in the Peers. It was now brought forward again, and passed both Houses without opposition in 1711.

Creation of new peers.

At the close of the year, as the Whigs and Nottingham had a majority in the House of Lords, Anne, by Harley's advice, created twelve new Tory peers. This act smoothed the way of the government to the conclusion of peace, but the step naturally created great indignation among the Whig Peers. One of these, Lord Wharton, jestingly asked the new comers whether "they voted singly or through their foreman," as though they had been a jury.

Marlborough's place as commander-in-chief was taken by Ormond, but no further movements were attempted, and in 1713 the

war was brought to a conclusion by the Peace of Utrecht. This peace was a compromise. The Archduke had become Emperor in 1711, so that his accession would have been even more dangerous than that of Philip. Philip of France, therefore, was made King of Spain; on the other hand, it was stipulated that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. Austria received the Netherlands, so that their line of fortresses, which were to be partly garrisoned by Dutch troops, might be a barrier between France and Holland. To Austria also went Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. Sicily was given to Savoy. In Europe, England kept Gibraltar and Minorca. In the New World the Spanish colonies were kept by Spain, but England received the valuable monopoly of the slave trade, and the right of sending one ship a year to trade with the Spanish colonies. England also kept Acadie (now called Nova Scotia) and the Island of St. Christopher in the West Indies. Her right to Newfoundland and to the Hudson's Bay territory was also secured. Louis agreed to acknowledge the Protestant succession. To these terms Austria and Holland gave their consent. The treaty of Utrecht was thought at the time not to be worthy of England's acceptance, and we behaved badly in not getting better terms for the Spaniards who had fought for Charles and for the Austrians and Dutch. Nottingham and the Whigs did all they could to oppose its conclusion, but the votes of the new Tory majority carried the day for the court. On the whole the advantages gained by England itself were very real.

Peace of Utrecht.

Having settled this important matter, the Tory leaders had time to consider the policy of the future. Anne's death could not be long delayed, and it became a question whether they should support the succession of Sophia, or try to bring back the Pretender. There was very little enthusiasm in the country for either claimant; so it was quite possible that a determined ministry might turn the scale. It has never been quite ascertained what the policy of the ministry was. The two leaders, Viscount Bolingbroke (formerly St. John) and the Earl of Oxford (formerly Harley), were not agreed. The latter was constitutionally timid and fond of compromise; the former was bold and enterprising. Possibly all Bolingbroke wished, was to make a Tory government necessary to the House

The question of the succession.

Dissensions in the ministry.

of Hanover. Whatever was their ultimate intention, the ministry worked hard to secure the ascendency of the Tories. They made Ormond warden of the Cinque Ports, which commanded the south coast, and they dismissed many officers who were known to be devoted to Marlborough. These steps naturally roused the Hanoverian party, and a motion was made in Parliament to ask the electoral prince, Sophia's grandson, who was afterwards George II., to come over and represent his family in England. Bolingbroke then made a bold push to win the Tories by introducing fresh legislation against the Dissenters. This was the Schism Act, by which no one was allowed to keep a public or private school unless he was a member of the Church of England, and licensed by the bishop of the diocese. This intolerant measure was passed, in spite of the eloquent protest of thirty-three peers; but it wrecked the ministry. By birth and education Oxford was a Nonconformist, and he had no sympathy with such an action; and Bolingbroke, finding him hesitate, had him dismissed from the office of Lord Treasurer.

The Hanoverian succession secured.

It now seemed as if Bolingbroke would have it all his own way; but within a few days Anne became dangerously ill. In this crisis the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Argyll, and Somerset acted together. Shrewsbury, who had as a young man called in William of Orange, was, by their request, made Lord Treasurer. This move destroyed Bolingbroke's power, and secured the Protestant succession. Oxford had been dismissed on July 27; on the 29th Shrewsbury took office; on August 1 Anne died. The country was thus taken by surprise. If the Tories had prepared any plans, they had had no time to put them into execution; and immediately the queen was dead, the Whig lords, with Shrewsbury at their head, carried into effect the arrangements which had been prepared to secure the succession of the Protestant heir. Sophia herself had died two months before her cousin; so the successor was her son George, Elector of Hanover, who was proclaimed King of England as George I.

CHIEF WARS, BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES OF THE STUART PERIOD.

(For Battles of the Civil War, see p. 263.)

Expedition to the Isle of Rhé	1627
Battle of Newburn	1640
First war with the Dutch	1652–1654
Jamaica taken from the Spaniards	1655
Battle of the Dunes	1658
Second war with the Dutch	1664–1667
Treaty of Dover	1670
Third war with the Dutch	1672–1674
Battle of Sedgemoor	1685
War with the French	1689–1697
Battle of Killiecrankie	1689
Siege of Londonderry	——
Battle of Beachy Head	1690
,, the Boyne	——
,, Aughrim	1691
,, La Hogue	1692
,, Steenkerke	——
,, Landen	1693
Namur taken	1695
Peace of Ryswick	1697
War with the French	1702–1713
Battle of Blenheim	1704
Capture of Gibraltar	——
Battle of Ramillies	1706
,, Oudenarde	1708
,, Malplaquet	1709
Treaty of Utrecht	1713

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS OF THE STUART PERIOD.

The Gunpowder Plot	1605
Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh	1618
Thirty Years' War begins in Germany	——
Impeachment revived	1621
Petition of Right	1628
Meeting of the Short Parliament	1640
Meeting of the Long Parliament ... ... November 3,	——
First Civil War begins	1642
Second Civil War begins	1648
Execution of Charles I.	1649
Oliver Cromwell becomes Protector	1653
Restoration of Charles II.	1660
Cabal Ministry	1667–1673
Exclusion Bill proposed	1679
Habeas Corpus Act passed	——
Revolution	1688
National Debt established	1693
Bank of England founded	1694
Union of England and Scotland	1707

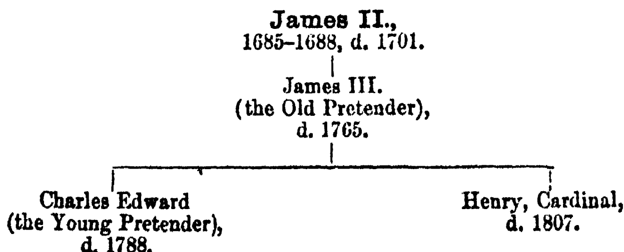
BOOK VIII

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

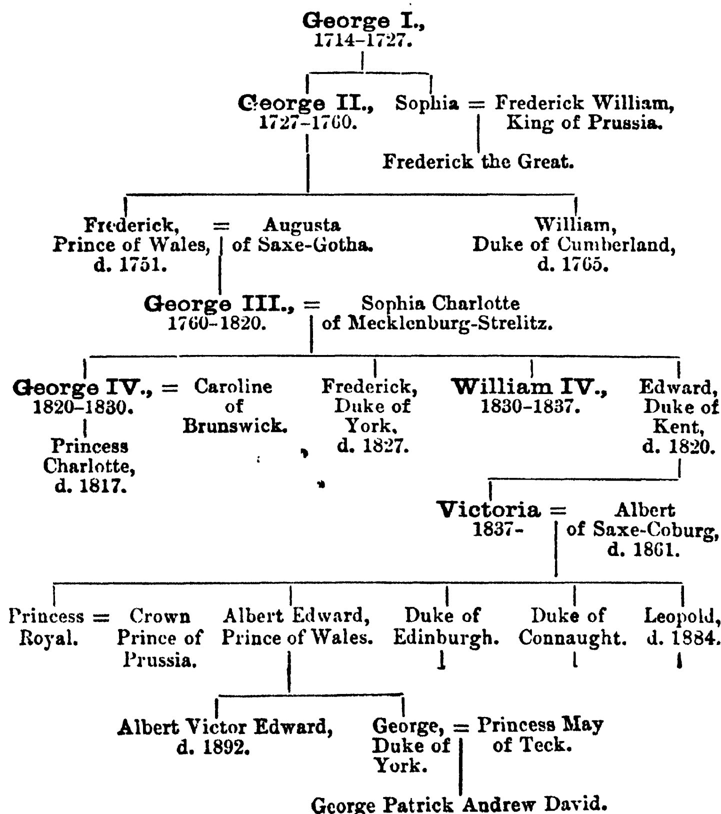
XIX.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE SINCE 1714.

- Louis XIII., 1609–1643.
  - **Louis XIV.,** 1643–1715.
    - Louis (dauphin), d. 1711.
      - Louis, Duke of Burgundy, d. 1712.
        - **Louis XV.,** 1715–1774.
          - Louis (dauphin), d. 1765.
            - **Louis XVI.,** 1774–1793.
              - Louis XVII., never reigned, d. 1795.
            - **Louis XVIII.,** 1815–1825.
            - **Charles X.,** 1825–1830, abdicated. Grandfather of the Count de Chambord, who died without children, 1884.
      - Philip, King of Spain, d. 1746.
        - Ferdinand of Spain.
        - Charles, King of Naples.
  - Philip, Duke of Orleans, d. 1710.
    - Philip (Regent), d. 1723, great-great-grand-father of
      - **Louis Philippe,** 1830–1848.
        - Duke of Orleans, d. 1842.
          - Count de Paris, d. 1894.
            - Philip, Duke of Orleans.
        - Duke d'Aumâle

XX.—THE HOUSE OF STUART.



XXI.—THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.



CHAPTER I.

George I., 1714–1727 (13 years).
Born 1660; married, 1682, Sophia of Brunswick.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Viscount Townshend; Sir Robert Walpole; Earl Stanhope; Sunderland; the Earl of Mar; the Duke of Argyll; Forster; Aislabie; Bolingbroke; Atterbury; Lord Carteret; Joseph Addison; Dean Swift; Pulteney.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Sweden.	Spain.
Louis XIV., d. 1715.	Charles XII., d. 1718.	Philip V., d. 1746.
Louis XV., d. 1774.		

Till the arrival of the new king, the government was carried on by the seven great officers of State, and eighteen "Lords Justices."

Characteristics of George I.

In September, George himself arrived in England. The new king had many excellent qualities. He was diligent and business-like, kind to his friends and forgiving towards his enemies, and he was universally regretted by the inhabitants of Hanover. But he was not likely to be a very popular king, for his merits made little show, while his failings were easily seen. He was fifty-four years of age, and therefore not likely to exchange the habits of Germany for those of England; and he was not able to speak English. As was also natural, he cared more for his old subjects than he did for his new ones. But, when this has been said, the worst has been told; and George had one great merit which in the eyes of Englishmen ought to outweigh all defects. He thoroughly trusted his ministers, and though he often wished to have his own way in Hanover, he allowed them to do what they thought best in England. Such a king was exactly what England wanted; for, under George's unostentatious rule, the system of party government which we have seen growing up during the last two reigns took root and became a recognized principle of the English constitution.

Unlike William and Marlborough, George made no attempt to form a mixed ministry, but at once gave his confidence to the Whigs; and Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole became the leaders of a new administration. Townshend was a conscientious but not a brilliant statesman, who had good business qualities, and had distinguished himself as a negotiator. Stanhope had been chiefly known as a general in Spain, where he had been most popular. It is related that he always said "Come on," and not "Go on," to his men. At home he had taken a leading part in the prosecution of Sacheverell. Walpole had distinguished himself as Secretary at War, and his prosecution in 1711 had raised him into the front rank among the Whig leaders.

The Whig ministry.

The question at once arose, What was to be done with the leaders of the late ministry, who were accused by the Whigs of having sacrificed English interests by the treaty of Utrecht, and of having intrigued to restore the Pretender? It was determined to impeach them; but Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, and Oxford alone was arrested and committed to the Tower. Bolingbroke and Ormond were attainted in their absence. The elections which took place on the accession of George had been the scenes of such riots and disorders that a Riot Act was passed, by which the magistrates were empowered to employ soldiers to break up any mob of more than twelve persons who refused to disperse when ordered to do so in the king's name. This Act still remains in force.

Action of the new ministry towards the leaders of the old.

The Riot Act.

The riots were only symptoms of the prevalence of a very dangerous feeling. There is no doubt that Jacobitism, as adherence to the cause of the Stuarts was called, was very widespread, though in England no insurrection had the slightest chance which was not backed by a regular army. In Scotland, dissatisfaction with the Union, joined to the usual antagonism of the Highland clans to constituted authority, were thought likely to make a successful revolt possible, and in 1715 the Earl of Mar in Scotland, and in England, Forster, member for Northumberland, and the Earl of Derwentwater attempted an insurrection. In Scotland, as usual, the government were able to depend on the

Dangerous feeling in the country.

Insurrections in the North.

followers of Argyll, while the discontent of the Lowlanders was not sufficiently strong to overcome their usual suspicion of the Highland clans. Consequently Argyll was able to bar the road from Perth to Stirling, and so to confine the Scottish insurrection to the Highlands. Only a small detachment was sent by Mar to join the English insurgents. Both insurrections failed. Mar

Battle of Sherriffmuir.

fought a doubtful battle with Argyll at Sherriffmuir, but at the end of the day Argyll still held the road to Stirling, so the real advantage lay with him. The same day the English insurgents were forced to surrender at Preston. After the battle of Sherriffmuir, the Pretender himself came over; but he brought neither troops nor personal ability to the aid of his followers, and, after a very short stay, he and Mar deserted their army and made the best of their way to France. For their share in the insurrection, Derwentwater and a few others were executed; Forster escaped from prison.

The miserable failure of these insurrections showed clearly that no rising was likely to be successful which was not aided by a

George's foreign policy.

foreign force. Such an army might be supplied by France, Spain, or Sweden, and the foreign policy of George's ministers was chiefly directed to prevent such aid being given to the Jacobite party. France became much more friendly after the death of Louis XIV., which happened in 1715, while the rebellion was going on. His successor was his great-grandson, Louis XV., a little boy in delicate health, who was under the regency of his cousin, the Duke of Orleans. The next heir to the throne was Philip of Spain, but his succession was barred by the treaty of Utrecht, and Orleans, who hoped to be king himself, was therefore ready to join England in support of the treaty. There was nothing, therefore, to fear from France. Spain was more dangerous, for the Spanish minister, Alberoni, was an able and ambitious man, who was anxious to regain for Spain some of the dominions she had lost at the treaty of Utrecht. Spain's policy was therefore dangerous to both France and Austria, and England and Holland joined with them to form, in 1718, a

The quadruple treaty.

quadruple alliance for the maintenance of the treaty of Utrecht. Against this combination Spain was powerless. Open war had never been declared, but Admiral Byng

had in 1718 destroyed the Spanish fleet, which was threatening Sicily, off Cape Passaro, and the next year the Spaniards landed a small force at Glenshiel, in the Highlands, which was defeated without difficulty. The hostility of Sweden was due to the purchase by Hanover, from the King of Denmark, of the districts of Bremen and Verden, near the mouth of the Elbe, which had formerly belonged to Sweden. This enraged the warlike Charles XII., King of Sweden, against George, and he seriously thought of helping the Jacobites by landing an army in Scotland; but in 1718 he was killed during an invasion of Norway, so this danger passed away.

The Septennial Act.

At home the chief measure of the government had been the passing of the Septennial Act. By the Act of 1694, Parliament was necessarily dissolved after it had sat three years. This would have caused a general election in 1717, at the moment when the country had just been agitated by rebellion. To avoid this danger, an act was passed prolonging the duration of Parliament to seven years, but not longer. This was intended to be a temporary measure, but it has never been repealed. It was wittily said at the time that a triennial Parliament passed its first year in trying election petitions, its second in discussing measures, and its third in awaiting dissolution. The Septennial Act made the policy of Parliament less fluctuating. It also helped the Whigs to consolidate their power during the longer interval between one general election and another. Its chief effects at present are to give security against violent changes of policy, to secure time for the party passions which a general election kindles to subside, and to give greater independence to the members than they would have if elections were more frequent.

Break up of the Whig triumvirate.

In 1717 the Whig triumvirate broke up. Differences of opinion arose between Townshend and Stanhope. The latter was the favourite of the king, as he supported George's Hanoverian policy, which was the cause of our trouble with Sweden. This was opposed by Townshend, who, in 1716, ceased to be Secretary of State, and became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and next year Townshend and Walpole resigned altogether. With them retired Pulteney, an admirable speaker, who was a great friend of Walpole. Stanhope then became leading

minister, with Sunderland and Addison, whose pen had done good service for the Whigs, as Secretaries of State.

Stanhope was an able and broad-minded minister. He held the old Whig dislike of religious disabilities, and in 1718 he persuaded Parliament to repeal the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts. He would have liked, had he been able, to have relieved the Roman Catholics from some of their disabilities; but even a Whig House of Commons was so easily roused by the cry of "The Church is in danger," that this enlightened statesman had to deny himself the honour which such a measure would have conferred upon him.

Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.

In opposition, Walpole so far forgot his Whig principles as to oppose the repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts; but he was better justified in resisting the passage of Sunderland's Peerage Bill. The object of this bill was twofold. It was intended, in the first place, to prevent the Hanoverian kings from giving peerages to foreigners; in the second, to make it impossible to create a batch of new peers, in order to override the majority of the House of Lords, as Harley had done in Anne's reign. The bill provided that only six more peerages, beyond the then number of one hundred and seventy-eight, might be created. Extinct peerages were, however, to be filled up, and, to ensure frequent vacancies, the new peerages were to be confined to heirs-male. The bill passed the Lords readily enough, but when it reached the Commons it was stoutly opposed by Walpole. The chief objections to it were, that it made a new restriction upon the prerogative of the crown, and that it removed any chance of bringing the peers into agreement with the popular house. Walpole, however, dealt with the matter by asking the Commons how they could pass a bill to prevent themselves and their descendants from being made peers. This argument carried the day, and the bill was thrown out. Had it been passed the rule of the Whig oligarchy, who were then in power, could have been made perpetual, and nothing short of a revolution could have broken down the opposition of the House of Lords if it set itself in resolute opposition to the House of Commons.

The Peerage Bill.

The same year that saw the rejection of the Peerage Bill witnessed the rise of the South Sea Scheme. The scheme took its origin

from the success of the South Sea Company. This company had been founded in 1711 by an Act of Parliament, which gave to it the exclusive right of trading in the Pacific Ocean, and along the east coast of America, from the Orinoco to Cape Horn. By the treaty of Utrecht the monopoly of the slave trade had been secured for England, and also permission to send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies. The company, therefore, had flourished, and was desirous of extending its business. At that time every one was very anxious about the National Debt, which was not only large in amount, but had been borrowed, when the security of government was bad, at a very high rate of interest. Accordingly, the company said in effect to the government, "If we can get the fundholders to take shares in our company, in exchange for the shares they now hold in the National Debt, we shall then become your sole creditor, and shall be willing to be content with only five per cent. interest from you, and the shareholders shall have the advantage of the difference between the interest they now receive from you, and the dividend we hope to declare. Moreover, the having a regular income will be so useful to us, that we will give you a bonus of seven and a half millions, which you can use at once in paying off some of your liabilities."

The South Sea Scheme.

The scheme was thought so likely to benefit the company that the Bank of England brought forward a similar project; but it was outbidden by its rival, and Parliament gave its sanction to the original proposal. The important question was whether the holders of the National Debt would exchange their stock for shares in the company. It was soon answered in the affirmative, and so eager was everybody to hold shares in a company which had such a brilliant future, that the value of shares immediately began to rise. Nowadays any one who has savings can readily buy a little three per cent. Government Stock, or take a few shares in a railway or other company; but in those days investment was not easy, the wealth of the country was increasing, so hundreds of persons flocked to buy South Sea stock, and a £100 share rose to be worth £1000. It was plain that, if five per cent. was the usual rate of interest, the company must make at least fifty per cent. for this price to pay; and, of course, this was most unlikely.

Parliament sanctions the scheme.

The rage, however, for speculation was so great that other companies came into the field. Some were sensible, and some absurd. One was "for insuring masters and mistresses against losses caused by the carelessness of servants," another "for a wheel for perpetual motion," and a third "for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." The South Sea Company prosecuted some of the projectors of these absurd swindles, and their action opened the eyes of the nation to the recklessness of their own speculation. The shares immediately fell; every one wished to sell, and no one was willing to buy, and the shares dropped to £135 apiece. There they stayed, which showed that the company was perfectly solvent, for £35 was a very good premium; but those who had given more lost their money. Terrible ruin ensued, and men and women of every class suffered, while a few who had sold out in time made vast sums. Among these was Walpole. That minister had opposed the bill, but as he had opposed everything else that Stanhope brought forward, his word had not had much weight. His opposition, however, now stood him in good stead, and he was eagerly called on to save the country. A cry was raised against the directors of the company, and an investigation demanded. Then it was found that bribes had been given to many persons about the court and to some members of Parliament to secure the passing of the bill. Stanhope himself was innocent, but in defending himself against the charge of corruption he burst a blood-vessel, and died suddenly. Sunderland had to resign, and Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled from the House. The bargain between government and the company was quashed, and after a time trade settled down, and public credit was restored.

Rival schemes.

Walpole now became first Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister of England. He is the first to whom this title is usually given. As we have seen, at various times different ministers have held the chief place. Under the Normans and early Plantagenets it was the Justiciar; under the later Plantagenets, Tudors, and early Stuarts, it was the Chancellor. Clarendon had been the last great Chancellor, and the leader had of late been the Lord Treasurer. It had, however, often been the custom not to appoint a Lord Treasurer, but to place the treasury under the

Title of Prime Minister.

management of a board, the members of which were called Lords of the Treasury, and the chairman was called the First Lord. In a similar way we now have a First Lord of the Admiralty. Since the ministers had been chosen from one political party, they had begun to act together much more than before, and this had given them the name of the Ministry; the leader of which was called the Premier, or Prime Minister. This title is not to be found in English law; it is merely a title of courtesy. The Premier need not necessarily be the First Lord of the Treasury. In Lord Salisbury's ministry in 1885, and again in 1887 and in 1895, he held the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Robert Walpole.

Walpole became Prime Minister in March, 1721. His chief colleagues were Townshend, Pulteney, and Carteret; of these Townshend and Pulteney have been noticed before. Carteret was a peer and a most brilliant speaker; he also had the advantage of knowing German, which gave him great influence with the king. Happily for Walpole, all his great rivals about this time left the political stage. Stanhope was dead; Sunderland had already resigned office, and died in 1722; Aislabie had been expelled. There were no great statesmen who were not at this time his friends. Walpole himself was a most remarkable man. He was a thorough Englishman, plain-spoken and good-natured, a hard worker but a lover of sport, with a capital knowledge of human nature and of the art of managing men; he knew what he wanted to get and how to get it, and if he found that insuperable difficulties lay in his way, he was willing to turn back and to wait for a more convenient season. His great fault was that, like many other able men, he was too fond of keeping power in his own hands, and his jealousy of the interference of other men led to a series of quarrels with all the ablest members of the Whig party. Abroad, Walpole advocated peace as the best security against Jacobite intrigue; at home, he was in favour of such moderate reforms as were not likely to provoke much opposition. He had no liking for heroic measures, and always went on the principle of letting well alone.

The need for this caution was very soon shown by the revelation of a Jacobite conspiracy. The friends of the Pretender had been much elated by the birth of a grandson of James II., who was

afterwards the unfortunate leader of the rebellion of '45; they also believed that George was tired of his new power, and the Pretender went so far as to write to the king, and offered to secure him the title of King of Hanover if he would retire in his favour; it was also believed that the country was irritated by the South Sea Scheme. These hopes, which were quite misleading, encouraged the Jacobites to fresh efforts; but the government was soon aware of what was going on. Their chief agent, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was arrested and tried before the House of Lords. His guilt was proved, and he was sent into banishment. This blow crushed the Jacobites for a time, and Walpole felt safe enough to allow Bolingbroke to come back; but his attainder was not reversed, so the great Tory was never again able to sit in the House of Lords.

Jacobite conspiracy.

In 1724 the first quarrel between Walpole and his colleagues took place. This time Carteret was Walpole's opponent. The king took Walpole's side, and Carteret had to accept the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, just as Townshend had done eight years before. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, then joined Walpole.

Quarrel between Walpole and his colleagues.

On reaching Ireland Carteret found abundance of work. We saw that by Poynings' law no bill could be introduced into the Irish Parliament which had not first passed the English council. This deprived the Irish Parliament of all power of independent legislation; and in 1719 the British Parliament passed a statute by which the British Parliament was allowed to pass laws binding on Ireland. This took away even the semblance of independence, and naturally made the Irish very jealous of English interference. Accordingly, when Walpole, in 1722 granted a patent to an ironmaster, named Wood, to coin £108,000 worth of copper in order to restore the Irish coinage, just as that of England had been renewed in 1696, there broke out a fierce agitation. It was not that the new copper coins were to be bad—apparently every care had been taken that the opposite should be the case; the real grievance was that Ireland had not been consulted in the matter. This feeling was fanned to fever-heat by a series of letters written by Dean Swift, the ablest of the Tory pamphleteers, under the title of the "Drapier," and

State of Ireland.

Renewal of the coinage.

when Carteret arrived he found all Ireland in a blaze. True, however, to his usual policy, Walpole, when he found the opposition to be serious, withdrew his scheme, and Ireland again settled down into gloomy quiescence. In 1727 the franchise was taken away from all Catholics, so that Protestants alone could either vote at elections or sit as members of the Irish Parliament. Consequently the Dublin Parliament only represented one-sixth of the population of Ireland.

The Drapier Letters.

In 1725 Walpole quarrelled with Pulteney, another of his colleagues. Pulteney, who had been a great friend of Walpole, was not prepared to efface himself, and he had no sooner left office than he began to organize an opposition to the minister. Hitherto there had been no organized opposition in the House; but Pulteney set himself to revive the old country party which had opposed the court under Charles II. In those days the court party had been Tories; they were now Whigs; but this made little difference. There was still great jealousy of the power of the court, and of this Pulteney took advantage. His great ally was Bolingbroke, who saw that he could never regain his lost power so long as Walpole was at the helm; and these two able men steadily set themselves to form an opposition to the government, both in the House and in the country. In Parliament Pulteney gathered round himself the discontented Whigs, who thought they had been ill used by Walpole, and acted more or less in concert with the Tories. Bolingbroke strove to excite the country by attacking ministers in the *Craftsman*. This paper, which was published daily, was the first regular opposition newspaper. It attacked Walpole impartially, whatever he did. If Walpole advocated peace, it said that he was bent on sacrificing the interests of his country; if he remonstrated with foreign powers, it declared that he was dragging the country into war. Everything that ingenuity could suggest was made use of against ministers, and soon the country party, who called themselves Patriots, attained formidable dimensions.

Pulteney and Bolingbroke organize an opposition.

The "Craftsman."

The centre of the opposition was the court of the Prince of Wales. It was one of the peculiarities of the early Hanoverian sovereigns that they always quarrelled with their heirs. This was not creditable to the

The Prince of Wales in opposition.

royal family, but it was a good thing for the country. Had father and son been united, any one who was discontented with the government of the father would naturally have gone over to the Pretender. As it was, he merely allied himself with the Prince of Wales, so that the rivalry between the two centres of Hanoverian influence was a positive advantage. Pulteney and Bolingbroke flattered the Prince, and hoped that when he came to the throne Walpole would be dismissed. Whilst these intrigues were going on George died suddenly in Hanover, in 1727.

Death of George I.

CHIEF BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES UNDER GEORGE I. AND GEORGE II.

Battle of Sherriffmuir	1715
" Preston	—
" Cape Passaro	1718
Porto Bello taken	1739
Battle of Dettingen	1743
" Fontenoy	1745
" Preston Pans	—
" Culloden	1746
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748
Capitulation of Klosterseven	1757
Battle of Plassey	—
" Carthagena	1758
" Basque Roads	—
" Minden	1759
Capture of Quebec	—
Battle of Lagos	—
" Quiberon Bay	—
" Wandewash (George III.)	1760


INDIA
To illustrate the English Conquest
English Miles
Cabul
Candahar
PUNJAB
Lahore
Delhi
Laswaree
Agra
RAJPOOTANA
Lucknow
Benares
R. Ganges
Buxar
BENGAL
Plassey
CALCUTTA
R. Brahmpootra
BURMAH
Mandalay
R. Indus
R. Jumna
R. Nerbudda
Assaye
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Deccan
Seringapatam
Arcot
Madras
Pondicherry
Bay of Bengal
Rangoon
Andaman Islands
Sea of Bengal
C. Comorin
Ceylon
INDIAN OCEAN

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE II., 1727–1760 (33 years).
Born 1683; married, 1705, Caroline of Anspach.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Queen Caroline; Walpole; Bolingbroke; Pulteney; Carteret; John and Charles Wesley; Porteous; Wilmington; Henry Pelham; William, Duke of Cumberland; Anson; Prince Charles Edward; Cope; Henry Fox; William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham; Pelham, Duke of Newcastle; Dupleix; Clive; Admiral Byng; the Duke of Devonshire; Rodney; Wolfe.

Influence of Queen Caroline.

THE new king, George II., was wholly under the influence of his wife, Caroline of Anspach. This remarkable woman had as great ascendency over her husband as the Duchess of Marlborough had over Queen Anne; but, as she had more tact in exercising it, she kept it till her death, and during the first ten years of the reign, Caroline, much more than her husband, was the real head of the government. In accordance with his sentiments as Prince of Wales, George's first act was to dismiss Walpole, and to ask Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, to take his place. Sir Spencer, however, was so incompetent, that he actually asked Walpole to help him in writing the king's speech. Caroline, who was Walpole's friend, at once pointed out to the king the absurdity of this. George was convinced by her arguments, and when Walpole himself promised to propose a large addition to the king's annual income, or civil list, the old minister was restored to his place, and the opposition were disappointed. They did not, however, relax their efforts, but did all they could to harass the minister and to win new recruits for their own party.

Walpole retained in power.

Meanwhile Walpole steadily carried out his old policy both at home and abroad. Spain was still hostile to the treaty of Utrecht,

and in 1726 she induced Austria, which was jealous of Hanoverian influence in Germany, to join her. This movement was met by an alliance made at Hanover between England, France, and Prussia. War ensued; but Walpole confined England's operations strictly to the defensive, and, an attack of the Spaniards upon Gibraltar having failed, peace was concluded at Seville in 1729. At home, Walpole was not willing to excite a disturbance by doing much for the Nonconformists, as he feared that to do so would only throw the Church into the arms of the opposition; but he began the practice of passing an annual Bill of Indemnity for those who had broken the Test and Corporation Acts. This was not a very satisfactory way of dealing with the question, but it served Walpole's purpose for the time.

Walpole's policy abroad.

His policy at home.

In 1730 Lord Townshend left the ministry. He was Walpole's brother-in-law, and had been his firm friend; but Walpole's overbearing conduct, and his practice of making the House of Lords reject any bills which he did not feel strong enough to resist in the Commons, alienated Townshend, and he retired after an open quarrel, and left Walpole supreme. Townshend did not go into opposition, but withdrew to the country, where he devoted himself chiefly to agriculture, in which he did great service by encouraging the growth of turnips, a useful vegetable, which can be grown while the soil is recovering after the exhaustion caused by the growth of a crop of wheat, without interfering with the process of recovery. Before Townshend's time such fields were allowed to lie fallow for a year, so that the introduction of the turnip was a real gain to the country.

Lord Townshend leaves the ministry.

His work in the country.

The first success of the opposition was gained in 1733. In that year Walpole brought forward his celebrated excise scheme, by which he proposed to substitute a very small duty and an excise levied at the shops where they were sold, for the large customs duties hitherto levied at the ports on wine and tobacco. By this plan smuggling would be checked, because the reduction of the customs duty would make it not worth while to run the risk of detection; and also the public would have to pay a less price for their wine, because the cost of articles would be increased

Walpole's excise scheme.

only by the exact sum levied at the shop by government, instead of there being added to it the interest on the tax levied at the port. It was also believed that the system would encourage importation. The scheme, however, was violently denounced by the opposition, first on the ground that an Englishman's house is his castle, and that liberty would be destroyed if excise officers might at any time call to inspect a man's goods; secondly, on the ground that Walpole's real object was to create an army of excisemen, who by their votes would turn every election in favour of the government candidate. By these arguments Pulteney and Bolingbroke roused the passions of the mob, and Walpole, though he could probably have carried it through Parliament, thought it better to withdraw the bill. The changes, however, were introduced gradually without comment, though the fact that fifty years later it was found that seventy elections depended on the votes of excisemen, shows that the second argument had not been without foundation.

In 1736 all Scotland was agitated by the Porteous riots. These riots, which were of little political significance, arose out of an order given by one Captain Porteous to fire upon the mob, at the execution in Edinburgh of a certain smuggler, who had enlisted their sympathy by a brave and successful attempt to secure the escape of one of his fellows. For this Porteous was condemned to die, but was reprieved by the government; and the mob, angry at this, broke open the gaol, and hanged him on a barber's pole. For this disturbance the magistrates of Edinburgh were reprimanded, and the city was fined £2000. These events form the groundwork of Sir Walter Scott's novel, "The Heart of Midlothian."

The Porteous riots.

The most important event of the early years of George II. was the rise of the Methodists. When this king ascended the throne, the chief Nonconformist bodies in England were the Independents, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Society of Friends. The members of the Church of England were much more numerous than those who belonged to these bodies; but the condition of the Church was far from satisfactory. This was in part due to the alienation which existed between the lower clergy, who were for the most part Tories, and the bishops, who since the accession of George I. had been invariably appointed from the

Rise of the Methodists.

Whigs. Another cause was the silencing of Convocation, which, except under the commonwealth, had since the time of Edward I. always sat at the same time as Parliament. After the Restoration, however, Convocation had ceased to vote the taxes of the clergy, and after 1718, when its meetings from the violence of party feeling had become a trouble to the government, it had not been allowed to transact business. Moreover, since the reign of Anne the cause of the Church had been made a mere party cry, and the clergy, not wholly through their own fault, had become partisans. Accordingly there was very little life in the Church, and consequently religion was falling into decay, both in the country and at the universities. It was under these circumstances that in 1730 a little knot of Oxford men formed themselves into a society which aimed at living a systematic religious life. The heads of this society were two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, and they were soon joined by George Whitfield. From the regularity of their lives they were called by their fellows "Methodists," and the name is still used and honoured by their followers. In 1739 they removed the head-quarters of their society to London, and numbers soon joined them, which before Wesley's death in 1791 amounted to many thousands. At first they regarded themselves as members of the Church of England, but when the clergy refused to allow them to preach in their churches, they began to hold meetings of their own, sometimes in the open air, sometimes in barns, afterwards in chapels of their own, and so by degrees they drifted away from the Church. Four years after Wesley's death their preachers began to administer the sacraments, and then they became a nonconformist body. The rise of the Methodists was a good thing for religion, as their example acted upon the Church, and made the clergy more energetic and sincere than they had been before its occurrence.

Contest between Walpole and the opposition.

The beginning of Wesley's work, however, attracted little notice, for all eyes were turned upon the great contest which was going on between Walpole and the opposition. Pulteney and his friends had been making way both in Parliament and in the country; but Walpole's position was very strong. In those days, when a great many of the boroughs were very small indeed, the chief influence at the elections was in the

hands of a few men, and the corruption of many boroughs was so great that seats could be bought and sold. Walpole took full advantage of this to get his friends elected, and when they had taken their seats he secured their allegiance by bribery and patronage. At that time neither the division lists of the House nor the speeches of the members were reported, so that few knew which side members took. Under these circumstances corruption was certain, and Walpole reduced it to a regular system.

Walpole's power shaken.

The first great shock to Walpole's power was the death of Queen Caroline, in 1737. The king, however, remained true to him, but the Prince of Wales had united himself to the opposition, and since the retirement of Bolingbroke, who left England in 1734, had been the nominal head of the country party. A more serious danger to Walpole's power than the mere party attacks of the opposition was, however, arising. This was the growth of a hostile feeling between England and Spain. This enmity arose out of the colonial policy of the two countries. As we saw, Spain had, by the treaty of Utrecht, given the English the privilege of sending one ship a year to trade with the Spanish colonies. This right had been abused by the English, who had sent out, beside the single ship, a number of tenders, who, keeping out of sight of land, replenished the trading vessel with fresh goods. The English colonies, too, were always trying to set up a contraband trade with those of Spain, and the Spaniards tried to stop this by searching English vessels for smuggled goods. This naturally led to quarrels, in one of which a certain Englishman, named Jenkins, had his ear cut off by a Spanish sailor. Jenkins brought his severed ear home, and used to carry it about wrapped in cotton wool. When asked what his feelings were when in the hands of the Spaniards, he replied, "I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country." The opposition, of course, made the most of this, and accused Walpole of neglecting the interests of the country.

Hostility of England and Spain.

Walpole, however, had no mind to go to war. He feared that war with Spain would soon develop into war with France, and that, he was aware, would mean the renewal of the Jacobite intrigue. The opposition, however, had the country and the king on its side, and Walpole, rather than lose office,

War with Spain.

allowed himself to be forced into declaring war against Spain. When he heard the bells ringing for joy for this, he exclaimed, "They are ringing their bells now, but soon they will be wringing their hands." At first the war was pretty successful, and Admiral Vernon captured Porto Bello; but an attack upon Carthagena failed, and the country soon became disenchanted. Of this the opposition took full benefit. They were now led by Pulteney and Sandys in the Commons, and by Carteret in the Lords, and they attacked Walpole without ceasing. To answer them, Walpole was obliged to rely mainly on himself. He had quarrelled with all his old friends, and most of the young men, such as Pitt, who was afterwards so famous, had attached themselves to the opposition. Still he did not despair, and in 1741 motions which were brought forward by Carteret and Sandys in their respective houses were thrown out by large majorities. The next year, however, a general election took place, and when Walpole found himself defeated by a majority of sixteen in a question which arose out of the Chippenham election, he resigned all his offices and retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford.

Walpole's fall

The fall of Walpole was not followed by a complete change of ministry. His own place was taken by Lord Wilmington, whom we have already known as Sir Spencer Compton. Carteret, however, was the moving spirit in the new administration. Pulteney did not take office, but went to the House of Lords as Earl of Bath, and so lost much of his power. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham still kept their places. In this form the ministry remained for a year; when, on Wilmington's death, Henry Pelham became Prime Minister. Pelham was recommended to George by Walpole, who still retained much influence. Carteret's influence steadily declined, and in 1744 he left the government altogether, soon after succeeding to the title of Earl Granville. Pelham then formed the administration known as the "broad-bottomed," because it included men who represented every section of the Whig party.

Changes in the ministry.

The "broad bottomed" administration.

At home Walpole's retirement made little change; but, abroad, the new government threw themselves vigorously into the war. Carteret was favourable to George's wish to increase the influence of Hanover in Germany,

Foreign policy of the new government.

and he, therefore, joined in a war which was being waged between Maria Theresa of Austria and the Elector of Bavaria. The Emperor Charles VI. had died in 1740, leaving his dominions to his daughter, Maria Theresa. She was at once attacked by Frederick of Prussia, and afterwards by Bavaria and France. England alone among the great powers took her side. The ministry took into pay a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, and these, with some English troops, were put under the command of the Earl of Stair; they were soon joined by George himself, and his second son, William, Duke of Cumberland; while the French forces were led by the Marshal Noailles, who had with him his nephew, the Duke of Grammont.

Battle of Dettingen.

The first fighting of importance took place in the valley of the Main, in 1743. The allied forces were marching from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, when Noailles secretly sent forward a body of troops under his nephew, who crossed the river and seized the defile of Dettingen, through which the English had to pass. Fortunately Grammont's eagerness led him to attack the English before his uncle had time to support him, and consequently he suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the allies, who, led by George in person, drove Grammont's men across the river at the point of the bayonet. This was the last battle in which an English king was present. This victory gave considerable credit to the government, which was increased by the fortunate return of Commodore Anson, who had been despatched against the Spaniards in 1740. After taking many prizes, both on the coast of South America and the Philippine Islands, he sailed home by the Cape of Good Hope, bringing thirty waggons' load of treasure worth £1,250,000.

Return of Commodore Anson.

Battle of Fontenoy.

The next year, 1745, however, was not so fortunate. Tournay, one of the Netherland towns, which, in accordance with the barrier treaty, was garrisoned by Dutch troops, was being besieged by the French under Marshal Saxe, when a mixed army of British, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Dutch, advanced to relieve it. The two armies met at Fontenoy. The allies were commanded by the young Duke of Cumberland, who was advised by Marshal Konigsegg, and Louis XV. in person was with the French. The English soldiers with the greatest bravery

forced their way into the very centre of the French army, but as the Hessians ran away and the Dutch refused to advance, they were obliged to retreat at the moment when victory should have been their own. In consequence, the allies were defeated; but the magnificent advance of the British and Hanoverians was long remembered with pride. Tournay soon afterwards surrendered.

Stuart Insurrection.

As Walpole had always foretold, the English had not long been at war, when the French began to arrange a new insurrection in favour of the Stuarts. In 1744 a large fleet was collected at Dunkirk, but fortunately, at the very moment when the troops were on board and everything was ready for an invasion, a terrible storm shattered the French fleet; some vessels sank, others were driven on shore. The expedition was to have conveyed Prince Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Pretender; but the French government, discouraged by the storm, refused to give him further assistance, and accordingly, the next year, he determined to go by himself to Scotland and seek his fortune in the Highlands. He sailed in a small brig, but was accompanied by a French man-of-war, which carried a supply of arms and ammunition. This vessel, however, was attacked by an English man-of-war, and was compelled to go home; but Charles, though deprived by this accident of the necessaries of war, arrived safely in the Hebrides. The Highland clansmen refused at first to join in so hazardous an enterprise as a rising without the aid of regular troops, but Charles' entreaties at length prevailed over their prudence, and when he was joined by the gallant Cameron of Lochiel, numbers of Highlanders flocked to his standard.

Natural divisions of Scotland.

Nature has divided Scotland into three distinct parts; first the northern Highlands, second the central Highlands, and third the Lowlands. The northern Highlands were divided from the central by a chain of lakes, which are now connected by the Caledonian Canal; this line is defended at its south-west point by Fort William, at its centre by Fort Augustus, and at the northern end by Inverness. By a rapid movement the Highlanders made their way past Fort William, and so gained the means of marching into the central Highlands. The commander-in-chief in Scotland, Sir John Cope, had, on the first news of the Pretender's approach, been ordered by the

Marquess of Tweeddale, who was Secretary of State, to march into the Highlands. This he did, and was on his way to Fort Augustus, when he learnt that the Highlanders were ready to bar his road at a place called the Devil's Staircase, where the road, in seventeen zigzags, wound its way up the steep side of Corriearrack. On learning this, Cope turned aside for Inverness, thus leaving the road to Edinburgh open, and of this mistake the prince took advantage at once. Before he reached Perth he was joined by thousands of clansmen, and after winning an easy triumph over some Edinburgh volunteers and a body of cavalry who tried to bar his way at Coltbridge, about two miles from the city, he reached Edinburgh.

Battle of Preston Pans.

Meanwhile Cope had taken ship at Inverness and reached Dunbar, where he landed his men and marched towards Edinburgh, by the high-road, which ran along the level ground by the Firth. Charles marched out to attack him, moving his troops along the line of the Lammermuir Hills, until he came opposite to where Cope lay. This forced Cope to change his ground, and he formed his forces almost with their backs to Edinburgh and defended in front by a morass. In this position they were attacked in the early morning by the Highlanders, who made their way through the morass and charged the king's troops with the utmost violence. The rush of the Highlanders carried all before them. The battle is said to have been decided in five minutes; and Cope himself, riding headlong from the field, was the first to bring to Berwick the news of his own defeat. The battle of Preston Pans, as this engagement was called, gave a great impetus to the rebellion, and a large part of Scotland declared in favour of the Pretender.

The prince crosses the border.

Charles, however, was by no means satisfied with his success, but wished to push on at once to England. This many of his followers were averse to do, but the prince insisted, and on November 9 he crossed the border, and in a few days made himself master of Carlisle. Thence he marched by Lancaster to Preston, and thence to Manchester. His situation then became very serious. The castle of Edinburgh was still holding out for King George. General Wade was at Newcastle, with a considerable army. Cumberland lay at Lichfield, while a third force was being collected at Finchley to

guard the capital. Worse than all, hardly any English Jacobites had joined the prince. Since 1715 England had grown prosperous under the Hanoverians, and had no wish to go back to the rule of the Stuarts. But in spite of this Charles still pressed on, and by making a feint in the direction of Wales enticed Cumberland towards Shrewsbury, and then quickly regaining the London road, which Cumberland had left open, he reached Derby. By this time Wade had advanced to Leeds, so that the rebels were, as it were, in the centre of a triangle, of which Finchley, Shrewsbury, and Leeds were the points. Of the three armies, that at Finchley was probably the worst, and if the Highlanders beat it, no one doubted that London would be at their mercy.

Panic in London.

The capital was in a terrible panic at the prospect of a rebel advance. So great was the run upon the Bank of England that the directors were forced to pay in sixpences in order to gain time. The king had placed most of his valuables on a yacht, in case it became necessary to retire to Hanover, and it is even said that the Duke of Newcastle was seriously thinking of declaring for the Pretender. The day when the news came that the Highlanders were at Derby was long remembered as "Black Friday." The best chance for a rebel army is always to advance, and Charles himself was eager to hurry on and try his luck in another battle; but his officers, frightened by the thought of the terrible position they would be in in case they were defeated, refused to advance further, and Charles, much against his will, was forced to give orders for a retreat.

Charles obliged to retreat.

Siege of Stirling.

In spite of the dejection natural to failure, the Highlanders made tremendous exertions. They actually eluded both Cumberland and Wade, and regained the border after a doubtful skirmish at Clifton, near Penrith, which is the last serious fighting that has happened in England. Arrived in Scotland, Charles found himself strengthened by the addition of some recruits, and he thereupon gave orders for the siege of Stirling, and while it was going on he himself defeated at Falkirk General Hawley, who had marched into Scotland at the head of the English forces.

Battle of Falkirk.

At the end of January Cumberland arrived in Scotland, and took

command of the Royalists. He had under him an excellent army, and at once set out in pursuit of the rebels. On this Charles retreated across the Forth, pursued by Cumberland, and thence to Perth. From there he marched towards Inverness, Cumberland still pursuing; and when they neared that town, Charles, who knew that his army was outnumbered, determined to attempt a surprise. The plan was a failure, as the distance to be marched by the rebels had been underrated, and the Highlanders were forced to retrace their steps to Culloden Moor, where they drew themselves up and waited for the English to come up. Cumberland ranged his men in two lines, placing the artillery in the gaps between the regiments, and the cavalry on the flank; and in this position they were attacked by the Highlanders. With impetuous valour some of the clansmen actually forced their way through the first line; but the reserve stood steady, and the brave Highlanders melted away before a terrible fire. Charles' army was completely routed, and his men dispersed in all directions.

Cumberland takes command of the Royalists in Scotland.

Battle of Culloden.

The Pretender himself, after five months' wandering in the Highlands, disguised sometimes as a servant and sometimes as a woman, succeeded in reaching France. Had it not been for the courage of Flora Macdonald, who took him with her in disguise, and the devotion of numbers of poor men and women, who scorned even for a reward of £30,000 to betray their prince, he must again and again have been captured. To his unfortunate followers a vengeance so terrible was meted out that Cumberland gained the title of "the Butcher." Of the more distinguished rebels, Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and Charles Ratcliff, brother of the late Earl of Derwentwater, were executed in 1746, Lord Lovat in 1747, and one victim, Dr. Cameron, so late as 1753. The most stringent regulations were made in order to destroy the power of the Highlanders. They were disarmed, forbidden to wear the national dress, and the hereditary jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs was abolished by Act of Parliament. A few years later Pitt raised the Highland regiments, which not only conciliated the chiefs, but also changed a source of danger into a means of defence.

Charles escapes to France.

During the rebellion the country had passed through a ministerial

crisis. Of the younger members of Parliament, none had distinguished themselves more than William Pitt and Henry Fox. Pitt, who belonged to a family which had made money in India, had entered the House of Commons at an early age, and had soon become conspicuous among a crowd of debaters by his mastery over the arts of oratory and sarcasm. In spite of the fact that he was unconnected with any of the great Whig families which at this time monopolized office, he soon attained a high position in the eyes of the country; for his absolute freedom from mercenary motives gained him much respect in Parliament, while his enthusiastic support of English interests gained him the good will of the people at large. With George, however, he was by no means a favourite, for much of Pitt's popularity had been won by his vigorous opposition to Carteret's Hanoverian policy, and in particular he had always opposed the taking of Hanoverians and Hessians into English pay. Henry Fox was not so distinguished a man as Pitt, but he was an admirable debater and an excellent man of business, and the opposition of these two young statesmen to the ministry was a very serious matter. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1746, before Culloden had been fought, Pelham determined to offer them office; and when the king refused to admit Pitt, he and his colleagues resigned. For a time George held out, but the ministry soon returned with Pitt as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and a few months later he became Paymaster of the Forces, and at once made good his reputation for disinterestedness by refusing to receive the usual percentage of the money which passed through his hands. At the same time Henry Fox became Secretary at War.

Pitt and Fox.

After the defeat of the Pretender the Duke of Cumberland returned to the Continent, but though an excellent officer, he was not a great general, and in 1747 he was defeated at Lauffeld, and the important town of Bergen-op-Zoom fell into the hands of the French. During this war the English had continued their plan of attacking the French colonies in North America, and in 1745 they took from the French Louisbourg, the capital of the Isle of Cape Breton, at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. But when peace was made, in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, all conquests made

Hostilities on the Continent cease.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

during the war were restored on both sides. By this peace hostilities on the Continent were concluded, and Maria Theresa's right to her dominions was recognized.

When peace was restored, Pelham gave his attention to domestic matters. As a follower of Walpole, he had a great interest in finance, and took measures to reduce the National Debt. Most of the debt had been borrowed at high interest, when the government's credit was bad. The recent defeat of the rebellion had improved the position of the Hanoverians so much, that Pelham was able to offer the government creditors either to be paid off in full, or to accept three per cent. interest instead of the high rate they then enjoyed. Most of them accepted the lower rate, and the nation benefited by the change.

Pelham reduces the National Debt.

In 1751 Frederick, Prince of Wales, died, leaving a widow and many children, the eldest of whom, Prince George, then thirteen years of age, became heir-apparent to the throne, and was created Prince of Wales. Frederick was soon followed by Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who had tried in vain to recover his lost power by the destruction of the Whig party.

Death of the Prince of Wales and of Bolingbroke.

In 1752, through the influence of Lord Chesterfield, a change was made in the calendar. The calendar arranged by Julius Cæsar, by not making sufficient allowance for leap year, had caused the English date to be then eleven days behind the right time. These days were now omitted after September 2, so that the next day was reckoned as September 14. The legal year was made to begin on January 1, instead of on March 25, as heretofore. A similar change had been made in all Roman Catholic countries by order of Pope Gregory XIII.; but England, being a Protestant country, had hitherto refused to do so, and Russia still preserves the Old Style of reckoning. This change was much disliked, and "Give us back our eleven days," was long a popular cry.

Change in the calendar.

In 1754 Henry Pelham died. Though not brilliant, he had been a man of great common sense, and when the news of his death was told the king, he exclaimed, "Now I shall have no more peace"—a prophecy which proved true. Pelham's place was taken by his elder brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who was a greater master of Parliamentary management,

Death of Pelham.

Changes in the ministry.

but a far inferior statesman. Hitherto Pitt and Fox, though ministers, had been kept out of the Cabinet, as the inner circle of ministers had begun to be called; but in 1755 Fox[1] was raised to be Secretary of State, which made Pitt very discontented.

The Seven Years' War.

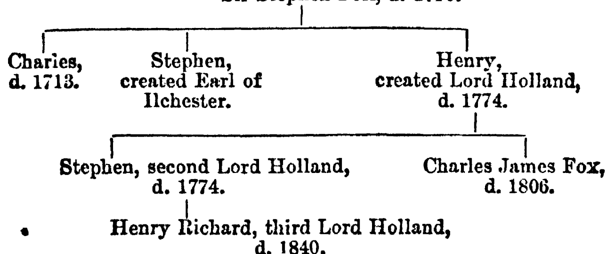
In 1756 the Seven Years' War was begun by Frederick of Prussia, for whose overthrow a coalition, in which Russia soon joined, had been made by Austria, France, and Saxony. In this war England joined, partly for reasons connected with Hanover, partly in defence of her colonial interests. As a Protestant prince, Frederick had the sympathy of Hanover; but the chief cause of our attack upon the French was our rivalry in America and in India.

Rivalry between the French and English in North America.

In North America the French held Canada, or the valley of the St. Lawrence, and Louisiana, which then comprised the valley of the Mississippi, and thus the English colonies which lay along the eastern coast were altogether prevented from extending their territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. Moreover, the French forbade them to trade with the Indians in the interior, and strictly enforced this rule. In 1754 the French built Fort Duquesne on the Ohio, to be the chief of a ring of forts stretching all along the border, and in consequence there was always bad blood between the rival nations, and whether or not the mother countries were at peace, war more or less regular was always going on between the colonists.

In India there was a similar rivalry, though not so open, between the French and English East India Companies. For a century and a half after their foundation these companies had confined

[1] GENEALOGY OF THE FOX FAMILY.



themselves to trade, which the English carried on from their three factories, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and the French from Pondicherry and Trichinopoly. During the second quarter, however, of the eighteenth century, Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, formed a plan for getting rid of the English, and bringing the country under the rule of the French.

Rivalry between the French and English in India.

At this time the whole of India was nominally under the rule of the Great Mogul, who lived at Delhi; but he had little authority over the local governors, the nabobs and rajahs, who were constantly trying to make themselves independent, just as the feudal dukes used to do in the Middle Ages. Government was so weak, that frequently robbers raised themselves to be independent princes; and besides, there were a few states which had never been under the rule of the Mogul. Moreover, the natives of these states were divided among themselves; they spoke many languages, and they had divers religions. Among these rivals war was constantly going on, and quarrels about succession were frequent. Dupleix saw that if he got an armed force and hired it out to one side or the other, he might in time become more powerful than any of the native states. Accordingly he drilled a body of Sepoys, as hired native soldiers were called, and began to take part in the quarrels of the natives. This he did successfully, and gained so much power that the English, in self-defence, were forced to imitate his plan. The champion of the English was Robert Clive, who had gone out to India as a clerk, but soon deserted the pen for the sword. He was a man of unconquerable courage, and soon showed himself to be not only an excellent soldier, but as good a diplomatist as Dupleix himself. During the war of the Austrian Succession there had been open war between the French and English traders, and in 1746 the French had captured Madras, which was, however, restored at the peace; but in 1751 the English and French again found themselves fighting against one another on behalf of the rival Nabobs of Arcot. Clive with a small force seized Arcot itself, and there stood a famous siege from a French and native army, in which the English were victorious, and Clive gained a great reputation.

State of India.

Dupleix hires native soldiers.

Siege of Arcot.

The opening of the Seven Years' War gave the English and French colonists a further opportunity of fighting. In 1756 an English force, under General Braddock, advanced against Fort Duquesne, but was beaten. The general was killed, and only the bravery of George Washington, a young colonial officer, saved the army from complete destruction.

Effect of the Seven Years' War on our colonial policy.

The same year the French stirred up Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, to attack Calcutta, which he did so successfully that the greater part of the traders were forced to fly, and the rest, who fell into his hands, were cruelly thrown into the Black Hole of Calcutta, where most of them perished miserably for want of air. Clive was despatched from Madras to retake Calcutta, which he did in 1757. The same year he utterly routed Surajah Dowlah at the battle of Plassey, in which a thousand English and four thousand Sepoys beat fifty thousand Hindoos. The battle of Plassey made the English masters of the rich plain of Bengal, and has always been regarded as the decisive battle in the history of the English in India.

Battle of Plassey.

Meanwhile in Europe the war had been going badly for England. In 1756 the French attacked Minorca, which the English had taken from Spain in 1708. Admiral Byng, son of the victor of Cape Passaro, was sent to relieve it. With more discretion than zeal, he refused to engage a French fleet of superior numbers, and Minorca was consequently lost. Byng had shown no want of personal courage, but the country was furious at the disaster, and insisted on his being tried by court-martial. This was done. He was found guilty and condemned to death, and the government dare not risk their popularity by pardoning him. He was, accordingly, shot. The witty Frenchman, Voltaire, said of his execution, "In England they kill one admiral to encourage the rest."

Loss of Minorca.

Byng sentenced to death.

The ministry which failed to save Byng was not, however, responsible for the disaster. On the loss of Minorca, Newcastle had resigned, and his place was taken by the Duke of Devonshire, who made Pitt Secretary of State. Pitt's first act was to pass a bill reorganizing the national militia. He hoped to give England a sufficient reserve of

The Newcastle and Pitt ministry.

soldiers to dispense with the hiring of Hanoverians and Hessians —a course which Pitt had always opposed. This view, however, found no favour with George, and Pitt was dismissed in April, 1757. Devonshire, of course, resigned; Newcastle was unable to form a ministry without Pitt; and after almost three months' hesitation the king agreed to receive a government of which Newcastle was to be the nominal head, but Pitt the guiding spirit. Newcastle's Parliamentary influence made the government safe, so Pitt was able to give his whole attention to the war.

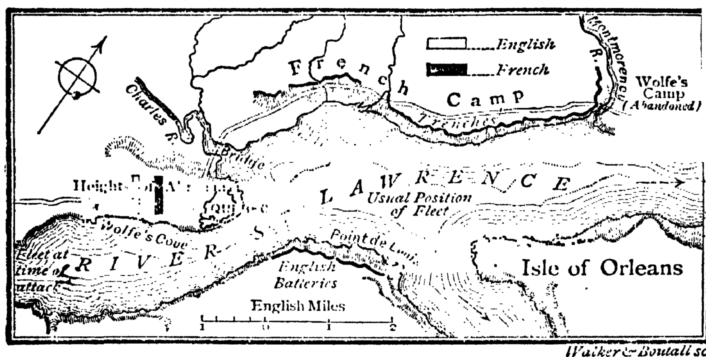
Pitt had great confidence in himself. When he took the reins into his hands the country was dispirited by the loss of Minorca, and had lost confidence in its rulers. "I can save the country," said Pitt, "and I know that no one else can." He at once diffused his own energy into every department. His clear sight showed him that now was the chance for England to put an end to the rivalry of the French in the colonies, and that the way to do so was to keep the French employed in Europe, while our fleet swept the sea and our soldiers attacked the French possessions in every quarter of the globe. He was only just in time. During the change of government, the Duke of Cumberland had gone out as general to Hanover, and had been defeated at Hastenbeck and forced to surrender at Klosterseven. Pitt at once put the British forces under Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of Frederick's best generals, and helped the brave King of Prussia to hold the French in check by persuading Parliament to vote him a subsidy of £670,000 a year. Meanwhile the English fleet beat the Toulon fleet off Carthagena, and the Brest fleet in Basque roads, so that help could be sent to our colonists, while the French troops in America and India were left without aid.

Pitt "saves the country."

In 1758 Pitt's plan for an American campaign was quite successful. Louisbourg and Cape Breton were again taken; Fort Duquesne surrendered to a mixed force of English and colonists, and its name was changed to Pittsburg; and within a year of Pitt's return to power the whole appearance of the war had changed. The year 1759 was even more successful. Rodney bombarded Havre at the mouth of the Seine, while Guadaloupe, a rich sugar island in the West Indies, was captured; Ferdinand of Brunswick defeated the French in the great battle of Minden;

The American campaign.

French fleets were destroyed at Lagos and off Quiberon Bay; while, to crown all, Canada was captured.



WOLFE'S OPERATIONS AT QUEBEC.

Capture of Quebec.

The capture of Louisbourg and Cape Breton had opened to the British the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and Pitt followed up his success by ordering General Wolfe to go on and attack Quebec, the capital of Canada, which stands on the river St. Lawrence, in the angle formed by its junction with the Charles river. Quebec was well fortified, and a strong French army was posted below the town, between the rivers Charles and Montmorency, in a strongly entrenched camp. This camp Wolfe found impregnable, so re-embarking his men he took them up the St. Lawrence, and, taking advantage of a dark night, landed them above Quebec. There they found themselves at the foot of the table-land on which Quebec stands. With great difficulty they made their way to the top, up an incline so steep that trees could hardly grow on it, and when morning broke, Montcalm, the French commander, saw the British drawn up on the heights of Abraham close to Quebec. This disconcerted all his plans. In haste he led his forces across the Charles river, formed them with their backs to Quebec, and attacked the British army. The British won. Wolfe was killed in the fight, but before he died he knew that his men were victorious. Montcalm was mortally wounded during the retreat, and died the day after the battle. This victory laid Canada at the feet of England, completely destroyed the French power in North

America, and gave the future of that continent into the hands of the English colonists.

Within a year a similar victory destroyed the French hopes in India. In 1760 Colonel Eyre Coote, commanding a British force, beat a French army at the battle of Wandewash, near Madras. In this battle no Sepoys were engaged, but only European troops. Hitherto the natives had thought the French to be better soldiers than the British, but the battle of Wandewash changed their opinion, and inclined them to favour the British as the winning side. These two battles, Quebec and Wandewash, may be regarded as having decided the long rivalry between the British and French in America and Asia respectively, and mark an epoch of the very first importance in the growth of the British empire.

Battle of Wandewash.

Death of George II.

In the midst of these victories old George II. died suddenly, in his seventy-seventh year, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. Several good sayings of George II. are remembered. When some one told him that Wolfe was mad, he replied, "I wish he would bite some of the other generals."

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS OF THE TIME OF GEORGE I. AND GEORGE II.

Riot Act passed	1715
Septennial Act passed	1716
Peerage Bill defeated	1719
South Sea Bubble	1720
Walpole Prime Minister	1721
Excise Bill proposed	1733
Calendar reformed	1752
Militia reorganized	——

For battles, see p. 330.

New England States
I *Massachusetts*
II *Connecticut*
III *New Hampshire*
IV *Rhode Island*

Middle States
V *New York*
VI *New Jersey*
VII *Pennsylvania*

Southern States
VIII *Delaware*
IX *Maryland*
X *Virginia*
XI *N. Carolina*
XII *S. Carolina*
XIII *Georgia*

English Miles
100 0 100 200 300 400

Walker & Boutall sc.

PART OF NORTH AMERICA TO ILLUSTRATE ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH, THE CONQUEST OF CANADA AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE III., 1760–1820 (60 years).
Born 1738; married, 1761, Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Chief Characters of the Reign (First part).—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; the Earl of Bute; George Grenville; John Wilkes; the Marquess of Rockingham; Edmund Burke; the Duke of Grafton; Charles Townshend; Lord North; George Washington; General Burgoyne; Lord Cornwallis; Sir George Savile; Lord Rodney; General Eliott; Lord Shelburne; William Pitt the younger; Charles James Fox; the Duke of Portland; Warren Hastings.

Character of George III.

GEORGE III. was at his accession twenty-two years of age. He had many advantages over his two predecessors. He was a thorough Englishman, and, as he said himself, he "gloried in the name of Britain." He spoke English as his native tongue, and he was fond of all things in which Englishmen delight; but his character had many defects. Unfortunately, his education had been neglected. He had not been trained in broad views, which would have raised him above party feeling, as an English king should be. His chief tutors had been Tories, and their views were opposed to those of the great Whig ministers who had just made England so glorious. Moreover, he had been set against the system lately in use, by which the king chose his ministers from that party which was most powerful in Parliament. He wished to name his own ministers and to choose his own policy. In short, he wanted not only to reign, but also to govern.

Power of the Whig families.

In his dislike to the rule of the Whig ministers George was by no means alone. Since the accession of the Hanoverian kings, the chief power had really been in the hands of a few Whig families, who had been very jealous of

admitting even such able Whigs as Pitt and Fox into their ranks. The power of these families rested partly on the memory of their achievements, partly on the influence which they had acquired in Parliament. In those days many of the boroughs which sent members to Parliament were exceedingly small, some because they had decayed since members were first given to them, some because they had always been small and had been created in order that they might be under the influence of the crown. Such places were called rotten boroughs. The power of nominating their members was usually in the hands of the crown or of some neighbouring landowner, or was sold to the highest bidder. A few years later than this, it was asserted that 200 members of Parliament were returned by places with less than 100 electors, and that 357 members were nominated by 154 patrons. Walpole and the Pelhams had organized the Whig party so thoroughly by the use of the crown influence, that the Whig families were able to pursue their own course without regard to the wishes of the king, as was shown by their forcing Pitt upon George II. This system George meant to attack, for he wished to break up party and to govern by men, and he hoped to have the sympathy of the great body of electors, who had little more influence than he had himself.

Rotten boroughs.

On his accession, however, George found in office the Pitt and Newcastle administration, which was so strong in the country through the victories of Pitt, and so powerful in Parliament through the influence of Newcastle, that its position seemed almost impregnable. George's first step was to get Lord Bute, a Scottish Tory, who had managed his household, made Secretary of State. A favourable chance soon led to Pitt's retirement. He had information that Spain was coming to the assistance of France, and wished to declare war at once; but as he was unable to move his colleagues, he resigned in disgust. As Pitt foretold, Spain herself declared war, and the result of the delay was to lose us an excellent chance of attacking the Spanish fleet. This incident increased Pitt's reputation in the country. Newcastle's resignation soon followed that of Pitt. It had been his practice to use the crown's power of promoting to office as a means of keeping together the Whig party; but George insisted, as was

The Pitt and Newcastle administration broken up.

legally his right, in making these appointments himself; so Newcastle, finding his power undermined, sent in his resignation. In this way the king, within two years of his accession, broke up the glorious Whig ministry of Pitt and Newcastle, and replaced it by another, under the premiership of Lord Bute, a man of no political experience whatever, who was simply a personal friend of the king. Bute became Prime Minister in 1762.

The war against Spain was fairly successful. Following Pitt's plan, we attacked her colonies and took Havannah, the capital of Cuba, and Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands; but George and Bute had no heart in the war, and did all they could to terminate it, without much regard to the interests either of England or her allies. In 1763 peace was made at Paris between England, France, Spain, and Portugal. England secured Canada, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada; but we gave up Martinique, to which we had been selling £300,000 worth of goods a year, and also Havannah and Manilla. Pondicherry, taken in 1761, was also restored to the French. The King of Prussia, whose efforts in Germany had enabled Pitt to gain his successes in the colonies, was abandoned and his subsidy withdrawn. The terms of this treaty were universally condemned by the Whigs; but Henry Fox, who had gone over to the side of Bute and the king, managed, by bribery and corruption of all kinds, to secure a large majority for it in the House of Commons. For this service he was raised to the peerage as Lord Holland, while the peers who opposed him were deprived by the court of their lord-lieutenancies, and private persons of all ranks who dared to support the Whigs were turned out of the posts which they held under the crown. These acts, however, only raised a storm of indignation against the court, and when Bute proposed to pay for the war by a tax on cider, he encountered such a flood of abuse that he was forced to retire from office. Though Bute retired from office, he had still great influence with the king, so that the witty Lord Chesterfield said "that the public still saw Lord Bute through the curtain, which, indeed, was very transparent."

We attack the Spanish colonies.

Peace of Paris.

Fox changes sides.

Bute obliged to resign.

The king replaced Bute by Pitt's brother-in-law, George Gren-

ville,[1] who brought with him Lords Egremont and Halifax. By this time George had succeeded in organizing in the House of Commons a party called the king's friends, who were not attached to either Whigs or Tories, but voted with or against the king's ministers exactly as they were ordered by the king himself. This manœuvre on the king's part made government almost impossible. The only way in which it could have been defeated was by the united action of the Whig party, which was still the most powerful body in Parliament. This, however, was impossible, because their great success in the last reign had divided the Whigs into sections. Some followed Pitt; others obeyed the Marquess of Rockingham; a third section was led by the Duke of Bedford; and a fourth followed George Grenville. These sections could never make common cause, so the king was able to defeat them in detail. For a time Grenville held his own by the support of the king's friends, and an attempt was then made to get Pitt to join him. This failed, so an alliance was made with the Bedford party, which secured Grenville's ascendency till 1765.

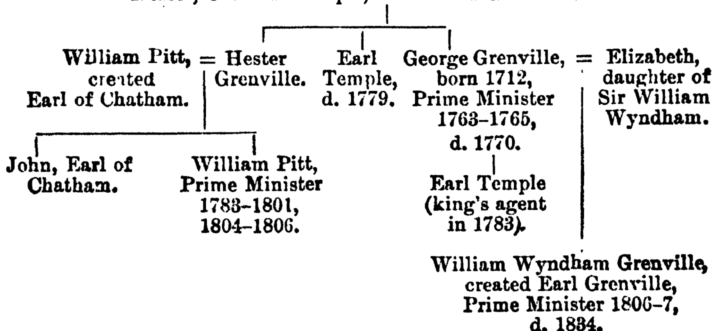
The Grenville ministry.

The king's friends.

Grenville was not a successful minister. He was a man of routine, and not a statesman. His first error was the prosecution of Wilkes. John Wilkes, a clever but profligate man, had stated, in No. 45 of his magazine, the *North Briton*, that the king's speech contained a lie in reference to the

Prosecution of John Wilkes.

[1] THE PITTS AND GRENVILLES.



King of Prussia. Every one knows that the king's speech is written by the king's ministers; but George chose to regard Wilkes' accusation as a personal affront to himself, and insisted that he should be prosecuted. The action itself was a mistake, but the ministers were also wrong in the way they did it. They arrested Wilkes on a general warrant, *i.e.* a warrant which specifies no name, but allows the officers to arrest on suspicion. Moreover, they had no right to arrest Wilkes at all. A member of Parliament could only be arrested for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and of none of these was Wilkes accused. By these errors the government contrived to put Wilkes in the right, and to enlist popular sympathy in his favour. Wilkes, under Habeas Corpus Act, claimed to be released, and Chief Justice Pratt at once ordered him to be so, on the ground of his privilege as a member of Parliament. Wilkes and the printers then sued the king's messengers for illegal imprisonment under a general warrant, and were successful in obtaining damages.

Wilkes expelled from Parliament.

The commons, however, voted No. 45 to be a seditious libel, and expelled Wilkes from the house for having written and published it. This high-handed act, which showed that Parliament was no longer the guardian of the people's rights, but the agent of the king, caused riots to be made in Wilkes' favour; but, of course, there was no remedy against an Act of Parliament.

Grenville's next blunder was his attempt to tax the American colonies. On the surface there was much to be said for this course.

Grenville's attempt to tax the American colonies.

The late war had freed the colonies from fear of France, and it seemed only fair that they should pay their share of the expenses. Again, England was the only country which did not tax its colonies. Rome, Carthage, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France had all done so, and there seemed no reason why England should be an exception, especially as she had had to add largely to her debt to pay for a war in their defence. On the other hand, the colonists were not unwilling to pay their share, but, like other Englishmen, they claimed not to be taxed except through representatives, and no members for the colonies sat in the English House of Commons. However, in 1764 Grenville passed an Act imposing customs duties on the American colonies, and gave notice that it was to be followed by a Stamp Act. At the same

time, he irritated the colonies by trying to put a stop to the practice of trading with the Spanish settlements, in which our colonists had long indulged to the great annoyance of the Spaniards. The news of these measures caused great excitement in America, and no less than six of the thirteen colonies protested against the Stamp Act; but in spite of this the act was passed. By the Stamp Act the government was able to levy a tax on all such transactions as giving receipts, cashing cheques, and leaving money by will. This is done by means of a stamp which is bought from the government and attached to the document, without which the transaction is illegal. This was the first attempt of the government to levy an inland revenue as distinct from customs. The colonists met this law by obstinately refusing to use the stamped paper.

The Stamp Act passed.

Things were in this state when Grenville left office in 1765. He had never been a favourite at court, as his long speeches bored the king, and George soon made an excuse for dismissing him. The king then applied, through his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, to Pitt; but the negotiations broke down. The duke next addressed the Marquess of Rockingham, and he and his friends agreed to form a government. As, however, they were opposed by the other sections of the Whigs, and had to rely for support on the king's friends, they were necessarily very weak. Under these circumstances the Rockingham Whigs only held office for a year; but during that time they repealed the Stamp Act, and also passed a resolution declaring general warrants to be illegal. While repealing the Stamp Act, however, they were careful to pass an act stating that England has authority over the colonies both in legislation and taxation. The repeal of the Stamp Act was mainly carried through the efforts of Edmund Burke, the wisest statesman of his time, in whom Rockingham had great confidence, and of Pitt, who made a magnificent speech, in which he pointed out that the trade of America was worth £3,000,000 a year to England, and that we were risking this sum for a miserable pittance.

The Rockingham administration.

In spite, however, of the support which he gave to the government in this case, Pitt was no good friend to Rockingham. Like the king, Pitt was no admirer of party government in the strict sense of the term; but always advocated,

Pitt's coalition.

as the Patriots had done in the time of Walpole, the formation of a government which should include all sections of opinion. The Rockingham party was so small, that Pitt now saw his chance of effecting a coalition against it, and so in 1766 he united with the king to turn out Rockingham. A strong government was then formed under the Duke of Grafton, one of Rockingham's Secretaries of State, as nominal head, and Pitt himself took the office of Lord Privy Seal, and went to the House of Lords as Earl of Chatham. Great things were hoped from this administration, but it was unlucky from the first, and in the end turned out a complete failure.

Pitt becomes Lord Chatham, and retires into private life.

Pitt's removal to the Upper House was a mistake. It weakened his power, as he could no longer sway the House of Commons by his eloquence, and it lost him his title of the "Great Commoner," in which he had gloried, and deprived him of some of his reputation for disinterestedness. Worse than that, he had hardly assumed power when he fell ill. How ill he was will never be known, but he first refused to see his colleagues, and then to answer letters, and finally retired to Bath, and took no share in public business. Left thus without a head—for Grafton had neither influence nor ability—the ministry had no fixed policy, and soon fell into complete disorder. In the teeth of Pitt's declaration, Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, put a number of small customs duties on American imports, the total produce of which taxes was estimated at only £40,000. This action revived the irritation which had been appeased by the repeal of the Stamp Act, and as the government was still insisting upon the scheme of stopping smuggling, ill feeling reached a high pitch. Soon after passing this measure Townshend died, and was succeeded by Lord North. Shortly afterwards Lord Chatham recovered, but his first act was to resign his post.

Taxes on American imports.

Wilkes re-elected.

In England the ministry went equally wrong. In 1768 there was a general election, and Wilkes was elected by the county of Middlesex. The king was determined that he should not take his seat, and the government, under his influence, ordered Wilkes to be arrested as an outlaw for his former libels. Riots so violent followed that in London alone twenty people were killed by the soldiers, and Wilkes became the hero of the mob, who

at this time were thoroughly discontented with the state of affairs. The fact was that George's scheme was beginning to bear its fruits. He had now successfully wrested the government from the hands of the Whig leaders, and had got a ministry which would do what he wished; but unfortunately he had not the ability to be a successful despot, and the more personal power he had the more things went wrong. The government, under his guidance, became thoroughly unpopular, as was shown by the publication in 1769 of the first of "The letters of Junius," which appeared in the *Public Advertiser*. The real name of their author was never ascertained, though it is now generally thought that they were written by Sir Philip Francis, then a clerk in one of the government offices. They attacked the government in coarse and violent language, but with biting sarcasm and admirable skill, and they were read all over the country.

"The Letters of Junius."

Not satisfied, however, with preventing Wilkes from taking his seat, the Commons, under the lead of the king's friends, actually tried him for a new libel, expelled him from the House, and ordered a new election for Middlesex. Of course Wilkes was re-elected; but the Commons held him incapable of sitting, declared the election void, and ordered a new one to be held. Again Wilkes was re-elected, and then at the fourth contest the Commons actually declared that his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, had been chosen, though he had only gained 296 votes to 1143 given to Wilkes. This concluded the contest for the moment, but the attacks which poured in upon Grafton from all sides were so violent that he retired, and his place was taken by his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord North, a man of great administrative ability and an excellent debater, but wholly under the king's influence. George had, in fact, succeeded in reducing the government to the ideal at which he had aimed, while the clever use he had made of the crown influence had gained him such a following in the House that his opponents were almost powerless.

Wilkes expelled from the House.

Again re-elected.

Lord North becomes Prime Minister.

It was evident by this time, from the reception of "Junius' Letters," that the House of Commons had become very unpopular, and the Commons were, therefore, more than ever jealous of any publication of their debates, which had been

Publication of debates.

distinctly declared to be a breach of privilege in 1728. In spite of this declaration the debates had been surreptitiously reported under false names, under the title, for instance, of "Debates in the Parliament of Lilliput," a name taken from "Gulliver's Travels." Of late, however, this disguise had been thrown off, and in 1771 the Commons made a vigorous attempt to prevent the practice, by ordering the arrest of one of the printers. The man was a liveryman of London, and denied the authority of the House, and he was backed by the authorities of the city, who arrested the messenger of the Commons and brought him before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, one of whom was Wilkes. By them the printer's quarrel was taken up, and the Commons were foiled. Since that time the publication of debates, though still asserted to be a breach of privilege, has gone on with only occasional interruptions.

Attempt to conciliate the colonies.

The first act of the new ministry was an attempt to conciliate the colonies by withdrawing all the customs duties except that on tea, which was retained in order to show the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. This might have satisfied the colonists at first, but their views were now enlarged, and it was the principle, and not the money, that they now cared about. In 1773 Lord North passed an act which altered the government of India, and, to help the East India Company, he allowed it to bring certain tea, duty free, into England, and to export it to America, subject only to the small duty enforced there. However, when the tea-ships reached Boston, they were boarded by a body of colonists disguised as Indians, and the tea was flung into the water. This lawless act roused the government to vigorous action, and to punish the people of Massachusetts, of which Boston was the capital, two acts were passed, by the first of which the Charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and the colony put under the absolute power of the crown; by the second the custom-house was transferred to Salem, which was much the same as removing the trade of Liverpool to Preston, or that of London to Gravesend. The object was to ruin the Boston merchants by preventing goods being landed there. This action brought matters to a crisis, for all men who understood colonial feeling knew that the colonists would rather fight than submit. Unfortu-

Repressive measures against the American colonists.

nately, the mass of Englishmen were profoundly ignorant of the colonies. There had for a long time been little emigration from England to America; there was very little passing to and fro, for in those days the voyage took six weeks; and Parliament refused to pay attention to the warnings of Chatham and Burke, the only statesmen who were really competent to advise in the matter

After these repressive measures had been passed, the other colonies came to the assistance of Massachusetts, and a Congress was summoned at Philadelphia which was attended by representatives from all the states but Georgia, which had only been founded in 1732. One of the leaders of Congress was George Washington, who had distinguished himself in the old war against the French. He said he would himself raise a thousand men to help the men of Boston. Meanwhile the Massachusetts assembly, instead of dispersing, as ordered by the governor, had kept together, and withdrawn to Concord, where it began to raise troops and to collect supplies. In 1775 an attempt to seize these led to the first fighting at Lexington, and in it the colonists, who were excellent irregular soldiers, got the advantage, and soon afterwards seized Bunker's Hill, which was so situated that it commanded Boston. From this they were expelled by the British, but at a great sacrifice of life, and then the war began in real earnest.

The colonies unite against England.

The colonies were divided into three groups—the northern or New England colonies comprising Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, which were in origin Puritan; the central, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, lay near the Hudson and Delaware rivers, on territory much of which had originally been Dutch, but had been settled by English colonists since 1664; and the southern, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, which were slave-holding states. The first danger the English had to fear was a general rising of their American states; but an invasion of Canada by the colonists proved a failure, for such fair laws had been given to the French settlers that they remained true to their allegiance.

The three groups of colonies.

This danger being averted, the English applied themselves to the conquest of the New England states; but in this they failed, for George Washington, who had been

Declaration of Independence.

appointed commander-in-chief by the colonists, seized Dorchester Heights, which completely commanded Boston, and Sir William Howe was forced to withdraw. Encouraged by this event, Congress boldly declared the United States to be independent of England, and drew up a constitution for their government. The English then changed their base of operations to New York, and tried to secure the lines of the Hudson and Delaware, in order to cut the states in two. In this they were partially successful, for they drove Washington from Long Island and New York, and in 1777 they beat him at Brandywine River, and took Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania. To make their victory complete, it was arranged that General Burgoyne should march from Canada down the river Hudson, and join hands with General Clinton, who was to advance from New York. However, Clinton was so slow that Burgoyne, when he had advanced about half-way, found himself surrounded by an overwhelming force, and was obliged to surrender at Saratoga Springs.

Defeat at Saratoga.

The disaster at Saratoga was the turning-point of the war. Hitherto it had been thought either that England would easily beat the colonists, or that a reconciliation would be effected. But now France, believing that the colonists would be successful, in order to revenge herself upon England for the loss of Canada, recognized the independence of the States, and was joined by Spain in 1779, and by Holland in 1780. England thus found herself face to face, not only with her revolted colonists, but with the three great naval powers of Europe, and from that moment her chance of success was small.

France, Spain, and Holland recognize the independence of America.

When France joined the colonists, some of the Whigs, under the Duke of Richmond, advised that we should ourselves acknowledge the independence of our colonies; but this view was distasteful to Burke and Chatham, who had all along advised conciliation—especially to Chatham, who had done more than any other statesman to build up the empire in America, and was aghast at the idea of it being so soon ruined. So strong was his feeling on the subject, that while opposing the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, he fell down in a fit on the floor of the House, and was carried home only to die. Chatham's protest, however, was so far successful

Chatham opposes the independence of America.

Death of Chatham.

that the war, which was now as much against France as against the colonies, was continued.

Meanwhile, the disasters into which the king's government was plunging the country had aroused a spirit of opposition. Opinions differed as to the best means of bringing the administration of the country into accord with the wishes of the people. Some thought that the remedy lay in diminishing the king's command of money, others in taking away members from the rotten boroughs and giving them to populous towns and to counties. These two schemes were called, respectively, Economical and Parliamentary reform. The first was advocated by the Rockingham Whigs, whose spokesman in the House of Commons was Edmund Burke; the second, by Lord Chatham and his friends. The king and Lord North had most influence in the small boroughs, while Rockingham relied upon the counties, and Chatham on the large towns, especially on London.

Economical and Parliamentary reform.

In 1780 the advocates of economical reform received great support by the presentation of a petition from the freeholders of Yorkshire, demanding a reduction in the salaries of officials and the abolition of sinecure offices, which had simply been used as means of bribery. No less than twenty-three counties supported the Yorkshiremen, and Burke was encouraged the same year to bring in a bill for economical reform, which, however, failed to pass. Thwarted in this way, Dunning brought forward a motion "that the power of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," and carried it by a majority of 233 to 215. Next year Burke brought in another bill for economical reform, but was again defeated by the government.

Great Yorkshire petition.

Meanwhile the party who favoured Parliamentary reform were not idle. The first motion on the subject was made by Sir F. Dashwood, a Tory, in 1745, in the midst of the Jacobite rebellion. It was so ill timed that nothing came of it, but in 1770 Lord Chatham suggested the giving of a third member to each county; and in 1776, Wilkes, who had been allowed to take his seat in 1774, brought forward a motion on the subject, which was lost without a division. In 1780 the Duke of Richmond introduced a bill into the House of Lords providing annual Parlia-

Projects for reform.

ments, manhood suffrage, and electoral districts, but was of course defeated. These abortive attempts served the purpose of keeping the reform of Parliamentary representation before the country.

Sir George Savile's measure for the relief of the Roman Catholics.

In 1778 the gradual awakening which was shown in the agitation for economy and the proposals for reform was also manifested by the passing of a measure introduced by Sir George Savile, a member for Yorkshire, for the relief of the Roman Catholics from some of their disabilities. By it the laws were repealed which forbade their priests to say mass, or their laymen to acquire land by purchase. Unhappily, these very proper concessions raised a storm of excitement in the country, in which the anti-Catholic feeling was still very strong. Anti-Popish riots at once occurred in Scotland, and in 1780, when Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association, presented a petition to Parliament against concession to the Roman Catholics, a riot broke out in London, in which the prisons were opened, chapels gutted, and property destroyed to such an extent as probably London had not witnessed since Cade's rebellion in 1450. For nearly four days the rioters had possession of the streets, and it was only the firmness of the king himself, who insisted that the soldiers should fire on the mob, which prevented the disaster from being still more terrible. These riots, moreover, were of great importance afterwards, for when the French Revolution broke out and disorders occurred in Paris, orderly people thought of the Gordon riots, and determined that, come what might, such things should not again occur in London. A vivid description of these riots is given in Dickens' "Barnaby Rudge."

The Gordon riots.

All this time the ministers had been doing their best to hold their own in Europe and America. As soon as Spain joined the war, a great attempt was made, by a united army and fleet of French and Spaniards, to take Gibraltar; but Governor Eliott nobly defended his charge, and by burning the enemy's batteries by means of red-hot shot, kept his assailants at bay. In 1780 Admiral Rodney defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and threw supplies into Gibraltar, which with this assistance managed to hold out until the siege was finally raised.

Siege of Gibraltar.

In America, however, Washington was so formidable that in

1778 we were obliged to evacuate Philadelphia, and make New York our head-quarters, and remain for the most part on the defensive. In 1780 a gloom was cast over the whole army by the sad fate of Major André, an English officer, who had been ordered to negotiate with Benedict Arnold, an American general, who offered to desert his countrymen. André had gone at night to the American lines in uniform, but when day broke he was persuaded to change his clothes, and, being captured within the American lines without his uniform, was hanged, as a spy. Arnold deserted, but did little good to his new friends.

The English evacuate Philadelphia.

In 1780 it was determined that part of the army, under Lord Cornwallis, should leave New York and land at Charleston, in South Carolina, and try to secure the Southern States. At first Cornwallis was successful, and Lord Rawdon won the battles of Camden in 1780, and of Guildford in 1781. He then marched along the coast towards New York, much as Burgoyne had tried to do along the Hudson river, but was hemmed in at York Town by General Greene, and, as the English fleet was not at hand, was forced to surrender. This great disaster brought the fighting on land to a virtual close, but the English still continued the naval war against the three European states. Rodney was fortunate enough to take St. Eustatia, a rich West Indian Island, from the Dutch, but the French soon captured it, and in 1782 the Spaniards seized Minorca. It seemed as if England had not only lost the command of the sea, but was going to be stripped of her colonial empire.

Surrender at York Town.

Under these circumstances Lord North would gladly have made peace, but George clung obstinately to war. The House of Commons, however, was less obdurate. When the news of the loss of Minorca came, North's majority dwindled rapidly, and in March he resigned, after an administration of twelve years. Lord North was succeeded by a ministry composed of members of the two chief Whig parties. Rockingham was Prime Minister, and brought with him the son of Lord Holland, Charles James Fox, who had established his reputation as one of the greatest debaters in the House of Commons, Lord John Cavendish, Burke, and Sheridan. Chatham's friends were represented by Lord Shelburne, Secretary

Resignation of Lord North.

Rockingham's second ministry.

of State, Lord Camden, formerly Chief Justice Pratt, and Dunning. Lord Rockingham also offered a post to William Pitt, second son of Lord Chatham, who, though only twenty-three, had made a great name in the House; but it was declined.

Negotiations for peace.

In accordance with Whig principles, the operations against the Americans were discontinued; but against France, Spain, and Holland war was waged as before. Fortunately, Rodney, in April, defeated the French admiral, Count de Grasse, in the West Indies, and in September General Eliott beat off a grand attack of the French and Spaniards, and the siege of Gibraltar, which had lasted three years, was abandoned. These victories much improved the prospects of a satisfactory peace, for which negotiations were set on foot.

Economical reforms.

Rockingham's second administration carried out the plan of economical reform, which his party had so long advocated in opposition. By a bill brought in by Burke for the reform of the civil list, the private expenditure of the crown was carefully regulated. It was divided into eight classes, and reductions were made to the extent of £72,000 annually, by abolishing useless offices. At the same time, an act was passed excluding persons who held contracts to supply the government with any articles from sitting in the House of Commons, by which a frequent means of indirect bribery was abolished. Another act forbade revenue officers to vote in elections, and as it was shown that no less than 11,500 officers were electors, and that seventy elections depended on their votes, this was a great blow to the influence of the crown. At the same time William

Pitt's motion for Parliamentary reform.

Pitt, in pursuance of the principles of his party, brought forward a motion for Parliamentary reform; but, though Fox was in its favour, reform had never been favoured by Burke, and the motion was rejected by 161 to 141 —figures which show that it received very considerable support. By another resolution all the former proceedings in connection with Wilkes' election for Middlesex were expunged from the journals of the House of Commons.

State of Ireland.

During the American war matters in Ireland had reached a very critical state. We saw how the Irish Parliament simply represented the Protestants, who were an

insignificant minority of the people of Ireland, and how the right of legislating for Ireland had been completely secured for the English Parliament by the Act of 1719. The Protestants also complained that, while the native Irish manufacture of frieze was unmolested, the attempt to introduce the English woollen trade had been repressed since 1699, while the Ulster linen industry had not been encouraged. This state of things caused great discontent, as was shown by the agitation against Wood's halfpence; but, on the whole, Ireland had been quiet until the outbreak of the American war, and even till the colonists were joined by European states. To withstand this formidable coalition the English were obliged to withdraw many of their troops from Ireland, and in 1779 their place was taken by Protestant volunteers, who were allowed to enrol themselves, and to whom the government furnished arms.

The volunteers.

Encouraged by the example of America, the volunteers soon formed the notion of using their arms as the Americans had done, to secure concessions for their country, and so formidable was their attitude that in 1780 the English Parliament, which had already made some slight concessions, annulled a great many of the restrictions on Irish trade. Encouraged by this success, the volunteers supported Grattan, a member of the Irish Parliament, in drawing up a Declaration of Right, demanding legislative independence for Ireland. This was accepted by the Irish Parliament in April, 1782, and the English Parliament passed measures by which the Act of 1719 was repealed, and Poynings' Act was so far modified that the Irish Parliament became independent.

Grattan's Declaration of Right.

Lord Shelburne becomes Prime Minister.

In July, 1782, the Marquess of Rockingham died. From the outset, the division in the ministry between Rockingham, Fox and Burke, who had the confidence of Parliament, and Shelburne, who was the favourite of the king, had been very marked. Fox and Burke would have had the Duke of Portland for Premier, and when George appointed Shelburne, Fox resigned and Burke followed him. Shelburne formed an administration from Chatham's followers, and those of the Rockingham Whigs who had not followed Fox and Burke, and

he boldly gave the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons to young William Pitt.

The negotiations for peace having been successful, England acknowledged the independence of the United States, and in 1783 a formal peace was concluded at Versailles between England, France, Spain, and Holland. By this treaty England gave up Minorca to the Spaniards and Tobago to the French, but for the most part the foreign possessions remained as before. Nothing, however, could make up to England for the loss of her American colonies, and as these have increased and multiplied mainly through emigration from England herself, the importance of their separation from England has become more and more clear. In the matter of trade we have never done so much with them as we used to do when they were under our flag. When the United States were our colonies, they consumed per man more than £1 worth a year of English goods. They have never done so much since, and now consume per head about 10*s.* worth.

Treaty of Versailles.

Even before the preliminaries of peace had been settled, Shelburne found himself exposed to the attack both of his old opponents and of his recent colleagues. No one had been more unsparing in his denunciation of Lord North than Fox, and yet Fox and Burke united with Lord North in order to turn out Shelburne. Nothing equal to this coalition for inconsistency had ever been seen in the English Parliament, and both king and nation were wroth at the unnatural alliance. But in the House of Commons Fox and North had a large majority, who carried amendments in the address to the crown proposed by the government in 1783; and on February 24 Shelburne resigned. To no one in the kingdom was the coalition more distasteful than to George himself. He looked on North as a deserter, and on Fox as a personal enemy, whom he had himself driven from office in 1774. However, after vainly attempting various unsuccessful combinations, the king was forced to give way, and after thirty-seven days' interval the coalition ministry came into power, with the Duke of Portland as nominal Prime Minister, Fox and North being the Secretaries of State.

Shelburne forced to resign.

The coalition ministry.

The king, however, had no intention of allowing this arrangement to be permanent, and he found an opportunity of striking at the

coalition when they brought in their East India Bill. We saw that the victories of Plassey and Wandewash had shown the superiority of the English and their Sepoys over the native soldiers and the French troops respectively. In 1760 Clive came home, but in his absence Major Munro, in 1764, defeated the Nabob of Oude at Buxar and entered Allahabad. In 1765 Clive returned to India, and he made the East India Company rulers of an extensive territory by taking over, by a deed granted by the Great Mogul, the districts of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, which had been governed by the Nabob of Bengal. The Nabob was not deposed, he was only pensioned, and the government was still conducted in his name, but the English company were the real rulers.

India under the East Indian Company.

Though they had thus, accidentally as it were, become rulers, the object of the East India Company was still to make money. With such an object as the end of government, it is no wonder that corruption and oppression everywhere prevailed; and the new rule became a curse to the natives. Famine followed famine, and the Ganges was sometimes choked with corpses. At last stories of these deeds reached England, and the natives found a strong advocate in Edmund Burke, who, whether the victims were colonists, Irish, or Hindoos, was always on the side of the oppressed. Clive, undoubtedly, did what he could to put down corruption; but the forces against him were too strong, and Parliament, urged by Burke, determined to take the matter in hand.

Miserable condition of the natives.

A commission inquired into the case, and in 1773 Lord North passed his Regulating Act, by which the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were united under the governor-general of Bengal; and Warren Hastings, who was then president of the Bengal council, was made the first governor-general. The governor was to be assisted by a council, and a high court of justice to administer English law was also created.

Lord North's Regulating Act.

The new governor-general was a man of very great ability, thoroughly versed in all the Indian arts of intrigue, and on the whole he administered the affairs of the company with great success. The greatest danger to the

Warren Hastings.

company's power arose from the ambition of Hyder Ali of Mysore, a robber chief, who had raised himself to independence, and threatened to overwhelm Madras. Hastings was driven to the last extremity to defend it, but in 1781 Hyder Ali was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo—a name which recalls the old Portuguese settlements. To supply money for the struggle, and also to pay the company's dividend, Hastings had been forced to most unprincipled acts: he had lent English troops for hire to the Nabob of Oude, and he had by force and cajolery obtained large sums from the Rajah of Benares, and also from the Begums or Princesses of Oude.

When the news of Hastings' high-handed proceedings became known, Parliament was again called on to interfere, and had a good excuse for doing so, for in spite of all Hastings' efforts the company was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Bill for dealing with the affairs of the East India Company.

Accordingly, the coalition ministry drew up a bill by which the management of the commercial affairs of the company was to be left to the directors; but political affairs were to be put under a board of seven persons nominated by Parliament for four years, and afterwards by the crown. So far as the bill affected the natives, it was good, for it had been drawn up by Burke; but the bill was not judged on its merits. The opposition saw that its effect would be to give the present majority in Parliament the whole control of East Indian patronage, and, in fact, would provide them with a gigantic engine of patronage with which to secure their ill-gotten power. Under these circumstances the bill was so distasteful to the king, to the opposition, and to the East India Company itself, that George ventured on a course which in itself was highly unconstitutional; for when the bill came on for second reading in the Lords, he authorized Pitt's cousin, Lord

Rejection of the India Bill.

Temple, son of George Grenville, to say that "whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy." This influence secured the rejection of the bill, and the king, overjoyed by his success, demanded the seals from the coalition officers that very night.

The coalition ministry was dismissed on December 18, and on December 23 it was announced that William Pitt had formed

a government from the king's friends, and from the old followers of Lord Chatham. Then a great struggle ensued. George had made up his mind to dissolve Parliament, but he did not wish to dissolve until the conduct of the coalition had been thoroughly understood by the country. On the other hand, Fox and North wished to drive Pitt from office as soon as possible. But against all their eloquence Pitt stood firm. It was in vain that the old ministers joked Pitt on his age, and laughed at "a kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care." In vain they petitioned the king to form a strong government, and threatened not to vote the supplies or to pass the Mutiny Act. It was soon seen that Pitt's was the winning side. The lords supported him, the merchants of the city of London, who had been the staunch friends of his father, sent him an address. His friends in the House steadily increased, and at last, on March 8, a motion of Fox against the ministers was carried by one vote only. Two days afterwards the Mutiny Bill was passed, and on the 25th Parliament was dissolved. The election which followed was a signal triumph for Pitt and the king. No less than one hundred and sixty of the friends of the coalition lost their seats, and the wits of the day called them "Fox's Martyrs."

Struggle to place Pitt in office.

The new Prime Minister was a wonderful man. From his boyhood he had been trained to be a statesman, and circumstances had given him the opportunity while he was still young enough to make use of it. Moreover, Pitt was the first premier since the beginning of the reign who had possessed the confidence of both the king and the nation, and consequently business was done with an ease and celerity which for a long time had been unknown. To his delight George found that his young minister in the main agreed with his own views, and had so much administrative talent that he could safely be entrusted to carry them out by himself. Consequently the popularity of George steadily increased. For the first twenty-three years of his reign he was undoubtedly very unpopular, for he was regarded as the author of the unpopular acts of the government; but he now began to get credit for Pitt's success, and the feeling of the nation underwent a complete change.

Pitt and the king.

One of Pitt's first acts was to pass an India Act. By it he

created a board of control, which was to be appointed by the government of the day. This board was to have supreme control over the civil and military administration of the Company. All the patronage, however, was to be left in the hands of the Company, but the crown reserved a right of veto in the case of appointments to the chief offices. This settlement satisfied both the Company and the country, and remained in force till 1858.

Pitt's India Act.

In 1785 Warren Hastings came back from India, and the next year Burke moved his impeachment before the House of Lords for high crimes and misdemeanors, especially on the charge of injustice to the Rajah of Benares. On examining the evidence, Pitt found it impossible to defend Hastings in many respects, but he remained neutral, and Burke and Sheridan had the chief management of the prosecution, assisted by Sir Philip Francis, the supposed author of "Junius' Letters," who had been a member of Hastings' council, and had done his best to thwart him. The trial lasted six years, for the lords rarely sat to hear evidence. In the end Hastings was acquitted; but the trial was a good thing, as it diffused much knowledge about India, and was a warning to other officers not to follow Hastings' footsteps. Since Pitt's Act and Hastings' trial, the civil service of India has been very different from what it was before. The officials have set before themselves a high standard of duty to the natives, and have reckoned among their numbers some of the noblest of Englishmen.

Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Pursuing his own and his father's policy, Pitt advocated the reform of Parliament, and in 1785 he proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, and to give the members to the counties and to London. The motion, however, was not agreeable to the king, and was thrown out by 248 votes to 174.

Pitt's reform scheme.

It was, however, as a financier that Pitt achieved the most striking success. He had had an excellent training in political economy, the science which tries to explain the process by which wealth is created and distributed, on which subject a great deal of light had lately been thrown by the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." This book had taught that all nations would benefit by a free exchange of their goods, whereas it had been the practice of governments to discourage

Commercial policy.

their people from buying from other nations, for fear that they would reduce the stock of gold in the country. The new plan was called Free Trade.

Pitt adopted it, and in 1786 he made a commercial treaty with France, by which both countries lowered their customs duties, and so made a step in the direction of free trade. This treaty was a good thing for both countries. Trade increased, and even the revenue reaped the benefit; for as there was less smuggling under the new law than under the old, the customs duties amounted in the aggregate to a larger sum. In 1785 Pitt attempted to apply the same system to the trade between England and Ireland; but the English merchants were so hostile to the measure that he had to abandon the greater part of it, to the loss of both countries. Pitt next brought forward a scheme for paying off the National Debt. It was very complicated, but at bottom it consisted in raising extra taxes each year in order to pay the debt. It did well in time of peace, but was not suited for war, and after a time it was abandoned.

Scheme for paying off the National Debt.

The feeling which prompted the impeachment of Hastings led also to an inquiry into the horrors of the slave trade, and in 1787 an association was formed for its total abolition. This could not be done at once, but in 1788 a bill was passed for the better regulation of slave-ships, and the next year, through the efforts of Wilberforce, Fox, and Burke, resolutions condemning the slave trade itself were introduced.

Inquiry about the slave trade.

The country was completely absorbed in Pitt's useful reforms, when an event happened which suddenly threatened to deprive Pitt of his power, and to place Fox and Burke in office. As early as 1765 the king had been threatened with madness, and in 1788 he became completely insane. The case was a difficult one. The natural person to be regent was the Prince of Wales, but the prince was very unpopular. In 1772, at the instance of the king, the Royal Marriage Act had been passed, by which all the descendants of George II. were forbidden to marry without the consent of the reigning sovereign. Of this act the prince had taken advantage to marry Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic, which by the Bill of Rights would have forfeited the

The king becomes insane.

The Royal Marriage Act.

crown had the marriage been legal. As it was, he could plead the Royal Marriage Act against the legality of his own marriage. This action was universally disapproved. Moreover, the prince had contracted immense debts, and was addicted to gambling. More important, however, than all, he was attached to Fox, and it was well known that his first act as regent would be to dismiss Pitt, and make Fox Prime Minister; and Fox, eager for power, declared that the heir-apparent had an inherent right to assume the reins of government. In these difficult circumstances Pitt behaved very well. He did not refuse to make the prince regent, but he declared that Parliament alone could give him the title, and that Parliament had the right to lay down the conditions on which he should hold it. Happily, before anything was settled the king recovered, and he and Pitt became more popular than ever.

Unpopularity of the prince.

The king recovers.

Good fortune as well as good management had attended Pitt. Without any effort on his part, his ministry gained the benefit of a great wave of commercial prosperity. Before the reign of George III., and for nine years into it, England had been chiefly an agricultural country, and had exported corn. She had some manufactures, chiefly woollen and cotton, but her trade in them was not considerable. However, in the latter half of the eighteenth century a great change took place. Arkwright applied the invention of roller-spinning, by which a strong thread was spun by passing through revolving rollers, instead of by the slow method of the spinning-wheel; then Hargreaves devised a spinning-jenny, by which many threads could be spun at once; and finally, Crompton combined the two inventions in his mule. Hardly had this been done, when Mr. Cartwright, a clergyman, invented a power-loom, in which machinery did what human hands had had to do before. Soon after this had been done, Watt's improved steam-engine was used instead of water-power to drive the new machines. The demand for new machinery caused a great demand for iron, which could now be obtained cheaper than formerly, in consequence of the use of pit coal instead of charcoal in smelting it; while Brindley's introduction of canals, and Telford's improvements in road-making, facilitated the exchange of goods and the bringing of materials to the districts where they were wanted.

Commercial prosperity.

These improvements in the arts were of more value to England than the discovery of the richest gold-mine. Fortunately for England, in this country the coal-mines and the iron-mines lie near together, and give every facility for the construction of machinery and the carrying on of manufactures. The energy of her sons was not slow to avail itself of a new source of wealth, and within a very few years the nation, which had thought herself ruined by the loss of her American colonies, had started upon a career of wealth, which enabled her to support without ruin a contest to which the American war had been a trifle.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS UNDER GEORGE III., 1760–1789.

Prosecution of Wilkes for No. 45 of the *North Briton*	1763
East India Company acquires the administration of Bengal ...	1765
Stamp Act passed	——
First of "Junius' letters"	1769
Middlesex Election dispute	——
Open publication of Parliamentary debates begins	1771
Lord North's Regulating Act for India	1773
Lord George Gordon riots	1780
Independence of the United States acknowledged	1782
Trial of Warren Hastings begins	1788

CHIEF TREATIES, BATTLES, AND SIEGES, 1760–1789.

Treaty of Paris	1763
Battle of Buxar	1764
" Lexington	1775
" Bunker's Hill	——
Surrender at Saratoga	1777
Siege of Gibraltar	1779–1782
Battle of Porto Novo	1781
Surrender at Yorktown	——
Rodney's victory over Count de Grasse	1782
Peace of Versailles	1783

CHAPTER IV.

THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Chief Characters of the Time.—Pitt; Fox; Burke; Priestley; Paine; Napoleon Buonaparte; Lord Howe; Sir John Jervis; Lord Nelson; Admiral Duncan; Sir Sidney Smith; Lord Edward Fitzgerald; Lord Cornwallis; Lord Castlereagh; Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth; Lord Grenville; George Canning; Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley; Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington; the Duke of Portland; Wilberforce; Lord Liverpool; Perceval; Sir John Moore; Sir Francis Burdett; William Cobbett.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.	Emperor.	Prussia.	Russia.
Louis XVI., executed 1793.	Francis II., 1792–1805.	Frederick William III., 1797–1840.	Alexander I., 1801–1825.
Republic, 1792–1794.	Emperor of Austria, 1805–1835.		
Directorate, 1794–1799.			
Consulate, 1799–1804.			
Napoleon, Emperor, 1804–1814.			
Louis XVIII., 1814–1824.			

Importance of the French Revolution.

THE contest to which we referred in the last chapter arose out of the French Revolution, an event of such importance that it forms as great an epoch as the Reformation, and of such far-reaching consequences that we are still living under the influence of the movement. Roughly speaking, this revolution means the revolt of Europe against the privileges left by feudalism. Though the movement began in France, all European countries in the last quarter of the eighteenth century retained in their customs much that was feudal in origin. This system had been the framework of society in the Middle Ages, and had then been most useful; but by degrees society took a new

form, and then its uses disappeared, while, unfortunately, its abuses remained.

The hardship of these was felt most keenly by the people of France. There society was divided into the privileged and the unprivileged, who were to one another as one to thirty. The privileged, who included the nobles and clergy, had almost all the wealth of the country, but paid hardly any taxes; the unprivileged had to pay for both. In each manor or seigniory the lord of the manor or seigneur had certain rights over his tenants. These tenants were not like English farmers; they did not hire their lands from the landowner by bargain, but they held the land perpetually, subject to certain services which they had to perform. They were, in fact, in the same position as the villeins in the time of Edward III. In England these services had been commuted for money payments, but in France they had still to be performed. Such was the *corvée,* a service done by working on the roads, which was made very oppressive. Again, the seigneurs had the sole right of hunting and shooting on the manor. In England, if there is much game on a farm, the farmer will not offer as much rent for it as if there were little; but in France the services and dues remained the same whether there was much game or little. The seigneur, too, might keep a dovecot with thousands of pigeons, which preyed on the peasant's fields, so that a man had to sow his field three times in order to get a crop. In the towns all trades were in the hands of corporations or guilds, who would not let any one else enter into business unless he paid money to become one of their members. In the army, no one except nobles might be officers. In the Church, no one but a noble had any chance of rising to be more than a poor curé or parish priest. All the best places were kept for the nobles. So that in both the country, the towns, and the professions the poor and middle classes were prevented from doing the best for themselves. Every one who wanted to rise was met and rebuffed by privilege. At the very time when this was the case, writers like Rousseau and Diderot were preaching a doctrine of universal liberty and equality, and all France was stirred with enthusiasm for the rebellious American colonists.

Condition of France before the Revolution.

It is impossible to conceive a much greater contrast, but this

state of things might have gone on for a long time had not the finances of the country got into a state of terrible confusion. Nothing could be worse than the way in which the taxes were collected. Usually they were farmed to speculators, who gave the government a lump sum for the tax, and then collected as much as they could. Every province, such as Normandy, Champagne, or Provence, had its own system of custom-houses on the frontier, and the result was to prevent trade at home by making it too expensive to take goods from one place to another. Moreover, the English, by taking the French colonies, had ruined their foreign trade, and consequently the country was getting poorer and poorer, and less able to bear the taxes. On the other hand, expenses were increasing. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. had both fought useless wars, in which they spent a great deal and gained little or nothing, while the court was the most extravagant in Europe, and the luxury of the courtiers was a terrible contrast to the misery around them.

State of French finances.

When a man's expenses increase and his income diminishes, it is merely a question of time when he will become bankrupt; and the same thing is true of a country. At last a meeting was held of the chief men of France to consider what must be done, and they recommended the king to call a meeting of the States-General. This body was something like an English Parliament, and had representatives of the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty elected throughout the country. But the three estates sat in separate houses, so that the king had always been able to play off two of the houses against the third. However, when the estates met at Versailles, in May, 1789, the Tiers Etat, or Commons, refused to do business unless all the estates sat in one house. After some difficulty they carried their point, and as their numbers were equal to those of the other estates together, and some of the nobles and clergy took their side, they had a majority in the National Assembly, as the united body was called. While this was going on, the mob of Paris stormed the Bastille, which answers to the Tower of London, and insurrections broke out all over the country, in which many nobles were ill-treated, their manor-houses burnt, and their feudal rights

A meeting of the States-General called.

The Tiers Etat obtain a majority in the National Assembly.

The Paris mob storm the Bastille.

set at defiance. By an act of the National Assembly all privileges were abolished, and after a time titles of nobility were done away, and the lands of the Church forfeited.

For the government of the country a constitution similar to that of England was set up, to which the king gave his consent. Unfortunately, the new constitution worked badly. The king, who was himself well intentioned, was ill advised. The chief nobles and clergy left the country, and tried to persuade Austria and Prussia to invade France, and to reinstate them in their privileges; and finally the king himself, in 1791, fled from Paris, but had the misfortune to be recaptured and brought back to virtual imprisonment. Meanwhile the Legislative Assembly, which had succeeded the National Assembly, had fallen under the influence of the Corporation of Paris and of the Jacobin Club, which contained the most advanced men of the revolutionary party. Mirabeau, the ablest of the old members of the Tiers Etat, had died, 1791; and finally, when Austria and Prussia united to invade France, a fresh revolution occurred. The Tuileries, where the king and queen were, was stormed by the mob; a frightful massacre was made of the imprisoned Royalists; and France having been declared a republic, Louis was made a close prisoner. The invasion of Austria and Prussia was foiled by the cannonade of Valmy in September, 1792; but the exasperation caused was so great that power rapidly fell into the hands of the most revolutionary party, and in January, 1793, Louis XVI. was executed.

The new constitution a failure.

The Tuileries stormed.

The king executed.

When the news of the Revolution first reached England most people sympathized with it, because they thought that France was merely going to do what England had done in the seventeenth century, and that the two countries would be better friends under similar institutions than they had formerly been, when one was a despotism and the other a constitutional monarchy. In thinking thus of the Revolution the English made a mistake, because our struggle had been a political one between the king and the Parliament, and had not been complicated in England by the existence of a privileged class; whereas in France the political question was secondary, and the struggle between the privileged and unprivi-

Sympathy with the French Revolution.

leged classes was of the first importance. The first to perceive this was Burke, who in 1790 quarrelled with Fox because the latter expressed sympathy with the movement, and at the close of the same year he published his "Reflections on the French Revolution," in which he foretold that the movement would result in the complete destruction of society in France, and the rise on its ruins of a military despotism. This book, of which thirty thousand copies were rapidly sold, completely altered the impressions of Englishmen, and henceforward the upper and middle classes were filled with terror of a similar revolution in England. This fear was quite groundless, because such privileges as those which had caused the trouble in France hardly existed in England, and the king was exceedingly popular; but Burke's followers would be satisfied with nothing less than war against France, while at home they resisted all kinds of reform, and were ready to take the severest measures to put down an imaginary conspiracy.

Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution."

This feeling soon showed itself in Parliament. So early as 1790 Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was thrown out by 294 votes to 105, and the subject was not resumed for nearly forty years; while in 1791 a body of Birmingham rioters destroyed the house of the celebrated Dr. Priestley, because he had arranged a dinner in celebration of the taking of the Bastille. The next year Thomas Paine, who was known to sympathize with the French, was tried and found guilty of seditious writing; and in 1793, for the better prevention of the spread of French opinions, an Alien Act was passed, giving the government power to supervise foreigners resident in England, and, if necessary, to remove them.

Effect of the panic on Parliament.

Meanwhile Pitt had not been carried away by the prevailing desire of a war with France. He was honestly anxious for peace, and in 1790 he succeeded in settling a quarrel with Spain about Nootka (now St. George's) Sound, without recourse to war; and even in 1792, so great was his confidence in peace, that Pitt, in bringing forward his budget, declared he had good hopes of peace being maintained. He also pursued his course of domestic reform, supported a bill for the abolition of the slave trade,

Pitt desirous of maintaining peace.

Goes on with his domestic reforms.

and in 1792 helped Fox to pass a libel bill, by which juries were allowed to say, not only whether a libel had been published, but also whether the publication was a libel. Previously the judges had claimed to determine what was libellous, so that this Act was a great safeguard to liberty.

However, in 1793, after the death of Louis, Pitt was forced into war, and after that further repressive measures were passed, and reform became more impossible than ever. The same year the Traitorous Correspondence Act was passed, while in 1794 Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for the first time since 1745, and continued in abeyance for eight years; and this measure was backed up in 1795 by a Treasonable Practices Bill, and a Seditious Meetings Bill, so that it was quite truly said that, because Frenchmen had abused their liberty, Englishmen were deprived of theirs. On the other hand, the friends of Parliamentary reform urged that the real way to put a stop to discontent was by enlarging the interest of the people in the constitution; but Grey's motion for Parliamentary reform was opposed by both Burke and Pitt, and was thrown out by a large majority. In Scotland, Muir, Palmer, and others were indicted for sedition and condemned to transportation, but in London the juries acquitted Horne Tooke and some of his friends, who were accused of treason, and gradually the country recovered confidence.

Pitt forced to declare war.

Repressive measures passed.

Motion for Parliamentary reform opposed.

When the war against France began, it was thoroughly popular in England, and it is certain that Pitt was far behind the rest of the country in eagerness to attack France. The unanimity of the country is shown by the fact that a resolution brought in by Fox to condemn the war was lost by 270 to 44. In carrying on the war, Pitt followed the example of his father, and attacked France on land, by sea, and in the colonies. On land he did not attempt a great deal, but it was necessary for him to do something in support of his allies, the European powers and the French Royalists, who had raised insurrections in Brittany and the south of France, and for this purpose he several times despatched English troops to the Continent. Like his father, however, he believed that he could do France most damage by subsidizing her Continental enemies while he made war upon her by sea, and to this

Popularity of the war.

end he made large grants. In 1793 England, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia formed the first coalition against France, and the same year troops were despatched to aid the allies in Holland, and to assist the royalists of Toulon. Neither of these expeditions was very successful. We succeeded in destroying the French fleet at Toulon, but had to abandon the harbour, because cannons were placed in such a position as to command its entrance; while the king's second son, the Duke of York, who commanded the troops in Holland, was actually defeated at Bois-le-Duc. At Toulon Napoleon Buonaparte, a young Corsican officer in the French service, distinguished himself by the energy with which he rallied the troops and pushed them to the front.

The coalition against France.

In naval warfare, however, we did better. At sea the French laboured under the disadvantage of having one of their best harbours, Toulon, on the Mediterranean, and their other, Brest, on the Bay of Biscay, while their harbours on the British Channel were not large enough then to admit very large vessels, and had again and again been bombarded by the English. We saw that in 1793 the Toulon fleet had been destroyed; and in 1794, on June 1, Lord Howe gained a great victory over the Brest fleet. These two successes for a time disabled the French; but in 1795 France was joined by the Dutch and the Spaniards, and then the position became very serious. The next year the French planned a great expedition to Ireland, but fortunately the fleet was dispersed by a storm, and only a few vessels reached Bantry Bay, which they left without landing. This was perhaps the most serious danger which the English had run, for a French landing in Ireland might have raised a formidable insurrection in that country; but in 1797 Sir John Jervis and Commodore Nelson defeated a combined fleet of French and Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent on St. Valentine's Day, while Admiral Duncan destroyed the Dutch fleet off Camperdown in October.

Naval war.

Notwithstanding these successes, the year 1797 was a most critical year, for between these two battles, mutinies occurred in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore. The chief grievance of the Spithead sailors was that their pay had not been raised since the time of Charles II., and that the pursers kept back large sums out of their earnings. But, on a promise that their

Mutinies in the fleets.

grievances should be seen to, they returned to their duty without difficulty. The mutiny at the Nore was more serious, because some of the sailors were infected by republican ideas; but when they found that they had no support on shore, they gradually gave in, and at no time offered to take their ships over to the enemy; indeed, these very sailors formed the greater part of those who won the battle of Camperdown. The destruction in turn of the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland gave us complete command of the sea, and so enabled us not only to take Trinidad from the Spaniards in 1797, and Ceylon and Cape Colony from the Dutch in 1795, but also enabled our ships to sweep the commerce of these nations from the sea, and to bring thousands of rich prizes into English ports.

Annexations.

In spite, however, of these great successes, Pitt would have been glad to discontinue the war had there been a prospect of durable peace. The expenses of the war had been exceedingly heavy, and not only had Pitt been obliged to levy very heavy taxes, but also to make large additions to the National Debt, and in 1797 he was obliged to draw so much money from the Bank of England, that it had to be allowed to stop paying for notes in cash. These sacrifices weighed very heavily upon all classes, and the price of provisions of all kinds nearly doubled. Wheat, for instance, which before the war had rarely cost more than 50*s*. a quarter, cost in 1795, 80*s*., and in 1801, 128*s*. Unhappily wages, though they rose a little, did not increase in the same proportion. For instance, a carpenter's wages in 1795 were 2*s*. 6*d*. a day, and in 1800 they were only 2*s*. 10*d*. In 1801 a labourer whose wages were 9*s*. a week, could remember the time when for 5*s*. wages he could buy provisions which now cost him 26*s*. 5*d*. In consequence there was a great increase of pauperism, and in 1796 the bad practice was begun of allowing the guardians to supplement the wages of able-bodied men out of the rates. Consequently wages ceased to rise, for the farmers, of course, paid the same as before, and any increase had to come out of the pockets of the ratepayers. Moreover, when the war began, every one expected that it would be very short, because France was believed to be bankrupt. This proved to be a mistake; for France got rid of her debts by simply repudiating them, while she got plenty of ready

Expenses of the war.

Distress in the country.

money by selling the lands of the nobles and clergy, and by issuing a paper coinage, and indeed, except at sea, seemed stronger than ever.

All these things made Pitt very desirous for peace, but unfortunately the French were still eager for war. After the execution of the king, power passed into the hands of the Jacobins, who first destroyed the power of all the upper classes, committing such atrocities that their rule is known as the Reign of Terror, and then quarrelled among themselves. The result was a series of conspiracies, in which one after another the leading Jacobins were killed. Danton was executed in 1794, and Robespierre perished the same year. The fall of Robespierre, the last of the Jacobins, was brought about by a union of the survivors of the middle classes to put a stop to the reign of the mob. They established the Directorate, or rule of five directors, and thus made a step towards a return to absolute rule. Before long an attempt was made to overthrow this government, but the directors appealed to the army, and called in the aid of Napoleon Buonaparte, who had distinguished himself at Toulon, and with his help crushed the rebels. In reward for his services, Buonaparte was made general of the French army in Italy, where in 1796 he conducted a most brilliant campaign against the Austrians and Piedmontese, whom he completely defeated, while Moreau, the most distinguished of the French generals in the north, was successful in Germany. These successes filled the French with a thirst for military glory, and though Pitt attempted to negotiate with the directors, the war went on as before.

The Reign of Terror.

Napoleon Buonaparte.

By this time Buonaparte had begun to aim at setting up a military despotism in France, and had already begun to interfere in the government, but, his schemes being not yet ripe, he persuaded the Directorate, in 1798, to send him to Egypt with a large army. This expedition opened up before Napoleon's mind a long career of glory. He hoped, when he had conquered Egypt, either to make his way by Syria to Constantinople, or possibly, emulating the triumphs of Alexander, to make vast conquests in Asia, and to penetrate even to India itself. By this means he designed to make France supreme on the shores of the Mediterranean, and to carry out the schemes of Dupleix by

Napoleon's Egyptian expedition.

expelling the English from India and making that country a dependency of France. At first his plans were successful; the Toulon fleet, with Napoleon on board, escaped from the harbour, while Admiral Nelson, who was guarding it, had been driven away by a storm, and sailed to Malta. At that time this island was in the hands of the Knights of St. John, who had held it since 1526. It was strongly fortified, and might have held out for months, but treachery delivered it to the French, who were thus enabled, without loss of time, to make their way to Egypt. Meanwhile Nelson, finding that the French had escaped, and guessing their purpose, had gone to Alexandria; but not finding the French there, he went to Sicily for provisions. Before he returned, Buonaparte had landed his forces, and beating the Mamelukes, as the race of soldiers who ruled Egypt was called, in the battle of the Pyramids, he made himself master of Cairo.

The battle of the Nile.

When Nelson for the second time reached Egypt, in August, 1798, he found the French fleet drawn up in Aboukir Bay, in the form of a crescent, one end of which was close to a promontory which formed one side of the bay. Nelson ordered his ships to sail between the end of the French line and the shore, and so to attack the ships from the land side. This manœuvre was completely successful, and of the thirteen French ships that began the action no less than eleven were lost, and the other two were subsequently captured. Nelson himself was wounded, and the French admiral, Brueys, was killed. The effect of the battle of the Nile on the French expedition to Egypt was tremendous. Napoleon, with the best of the French armies, was completely cut off from France, while the victory itself revived the hopes of the allies, and caused the formation of the second coalition against France. Buonaparte, however, was not to be diverted from his scheme. In 1799 he invaded Syria, but was stopped by the fortress of Acre, which commanded the road along the coast. Acre was stoutly defended by the Turks, assisted by Sir Sidney Smith, who placed two ships of the line in such a way as to command Buonaparte's trenches, and also landed sailors to defend the breach. This assistance completely foiled Buonaparte, and though he defeated an army of Turks who tried to relieve the town, his

The second coalition against France.

Buonaparte invades Syria.

storming parties were again and again repulsed, and at last he was forced to give up his scheme of Eastern conquest and to return to Egypt. Buonaparte always said of Sidney Smith, "That man made me miss my destiny."

Meanwhile an immense army of Austrians and Russians was preparing to invade France, and was joined by an English expedition under the Duke of York; but though they were at first successful in every encounter, their plans were spoilt by the defeat of their centre at Zurich, which saved France from invasion. By this time Napoleon, having defeated a Turkish army in Egypt, had abandoned his troops and made his way to France, where the disasters of the directors, contrasted with the story of his achievements, had enhanced his reputation. He soon succeeded in effecting the overthrow of the directors and setting up a new government, of which he was the head, with the title of First Consul, and he very soon contrived to make the central government as despotic as it had been in the days of the kings, though of course the old privileges were not restored. In the war, Napoleon continued the success which Massena had begun at Zurich. Moreau defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden, while he himself, suddenly crossing the Alps by the St. Bernard Pass, came down in the rear of another army of Austrians who were besieging Genoa, and beat them at the battle of Marengo. After these defeats Austria made peace, and England was left to continue the war single-handed.

Napoleon sets up a new government.

In 1800 the British captured the island of Malta, and in 1801 Abercrombie, with a British army, defeated the French at the battle of Alexandria, and their army in Egypt was forced to surrender. Meanwhile England's method of carrying on the war at sea, in which she not only insisted on seizing all French goods which were being carried in neutral ships, but also as far as possible put a stop to any trade with France, had excited the ill will of the neutral states—Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia—who formed what was called an armed neutrality. It was greatly feared that this was only a step towards joining France, so in 1801 Nelson attacked the Danish fleet in Copenhagen harbour, and destroyed or captured the greater part of it. This victory resulted in the dissolution of the armed neutrality.

The armed neutrality.

By this time both France and England were tired of war. Napoleon had little hope of destroying the power of England in the Mediterranean, while the English, now that they had taken most of the French colonies, could do little against her on land without allies. Peace, therefore, was concluded at Amiens in 1802, by which England restored her conquests, and agreed that Malta should revert to the Knights of St. John.

Peace of Amiens.

Before the treaty of Amiens was made, however, Pitt had ceased to be Prime Minister. The causes of his fall arose from events in Ireland, and to these we must now go back. After Lord Rockingham's concessions in 1782, the Irish Parliament had been independent, but as it was composed only of Protestants, though the franchise had been restored to the Roman Catholics in 1793, it could not be said to represent the Irish people. The French Revolution caused great excitement in Ireland, and a conspiracy was soon set on foot to try and bring about a catastrophe there. There were then three distinct parties in Ireland—the Catholics, forming at least seven-tenths of the nation, who wanted emancipation from their disabilities and a share of political power; the Protestants, who, under the name of Orangemen, were furious at the bare mention of concession to the Catholics, but who were themselves anxious for Parliamentary reform, and the removal of the corrupt means by which government secured its influence in Parliament; and the Revolutionists, or United Irishmen, who included both Catholics and Protestants, and who were eager to overthrow the government altogether and establish a republic under the protection of France. In 1793 the Irish Catholics were admitted to the franchise, but in 1795 they were disappointed by the recall of the lord-lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, who was favourable to the repeal of the laws which excluded them from Parliament and from office.

Events in Ireland.

As we saw, the French expedition to Ireland in 1796 failed; but the republicans, under the leadership of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and Oliver Bond, organized an independent insurrection. At the beginning of 1798, they were suddenly arrested by order of the government, and Lord Edward defended himself so vehemently that he was mortally wounded. In spite of the capture of their leaders, the insurrection

The Irish insurrection.

broke out, and in the south-east of Ireland, in the neighbourhood of Wexford, obtained considerable proportions. There the insurgents posted themselves on a strong position at Vinegar Hill, from which they were only driven by General Lake after a regular battle. When the insurrection was all over, a small body of French troops landed in Mayo, and, after defeating some militia and yeomanry at Castlebar, were forced to surrender to the regular troops. After this another French squadron arrived off the coast, in which was Wolfe Tone, the founder of the United Irishmen, who had acted as agent for the rebels in Paris. This squadron was met by some English ships, who captured the greater part of it. Tone was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but he saved himself from execution by suicide.

The Union.

This rebellion convinced Pitt that the best solution of the Irish difficulty was to unite the two Parliaments. He hoped to make the Union a blessing to Ireland by coupling it with the emancipation of the Catholics, who might, he thought, safely be members of the United Parliament, where they were sure to be in a minority, though he dare not grant them this favour in an Irish Parliament, where they would have a majority. The proposition of a union, however, was most distasteful to the Irish Protestants, who were the virtual rulers of Ireland, and Pitt was only able to carry his measure through the Irish Parliament by a free use of money among the borough-mongers. By the terms of the Union Ireland ceased to have a separate Parliament, but sent to the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland four bishops to sit in the House of Lords, twenty-eight representative peers elected for life, and one hundred commoners. Irish peers were allowed to be elected members of the House of Commons. Free-trade between the two countries was established, and it was arranged that Ireland should only pay £2 of taxes for every £15 paid by England. In spite of Pitt's hopes, the Union proved to be very unpopular, and in 1803, Emmett, a Dublin barrister, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1798, formed a new conspiracy. A slight outbreak followed, which was easily suppressed, and Emmett and some of his friends were convicted and executed.

Emmett's conspiracy.

Lord Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant, Lord Castlereagh, his

chief secretary, and Pitt all regarded the passing of an Act of Parliament for the relief of the Catholics as part of their bargain with Ireland, and wished further to remove the grievances connected with the collection of tithe, and to endow the Roman Catholic clergy. In 1801 Pitt proposed to the king a measure for the relief of the Catholics; but George III., being under the impression, quite wrongly, that he could not consent to such a measure without violating his coronation oath, and being also thoroughly averse to the concessions, opposed him. Pitt and his friends left the government, and the whole scheme for coupling the Union with the redress of Irish grievances fell to the ground. Pitt was succeeded by Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, whose chief colleague was Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. It was this ministry which concluded the treaty of Amiens.

Measure for the relief of the Catholics.

Pitt resigns.

As usual, war between England and France was accompanied by trouble in India. Hyder Ali, the old enemy of Hastings, had been succeeded by his son, Tippoo Sahib. The French republicans regarded Tippoo as their ally, called him Citizen Tippoo, and even established a Jacobin Club in his capital, Seringapatam. This conduct, of course, led to a war, and in 1799 the governor-general, Lord Mornington, directed General Harris to invade Tippoo's territory and capture Seringapatam. This was done and Tippoo himself was killed in the assault. Part of his territory was annexed, and part was restored to the old Hindoo dynasty. Lord Mornington's policy was to conclude treaties with the native princes, by which they agreed to receive a British resident, who, while domestic affairs were left in their own hands, directed their foreign policy. This forward movement aroused the fear of the Mahratta chiefs, who ruled over territories which extended from Delhi to the Deccan. These chiefs were usually at war with one another, but they now united together under Scindia and Holkar, and expelled the Peishwah, who was grand-vizier to the head of the race, and nominally ruler. The Peishwah made a subsidiary treaty with Lord Mornington, who sent his brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Seringapatam, to attack them from the south, and General Lake from the north-east. Wellesley won the battle of Assaye, and Lake that of Laswaree, which reduced the Mahrattas

Trouble in India.

to subjection, and forced them to conclude subsidiary treaties with the English. After this success the Mogul at Delhi became the pensioner of the East India Company, which brought almost the whole of the Ganges Valley and Southern India directly or indirectly under the Company's sway.

The treaty of Amiens was little better than a truce, and Napoleon had no intention of allowing it to be more. He did not pause for a moment in his ambitious schemes, but tried to increase French influence in Switzerland and Italy, and sent agents, under the name of consuls, to England and Ireland, whose real object was to make themselves acquainted with the resources of these countries and the chance of their successful invasion. Even while he was engaged in these intrigues, he continually complained of the attacks made upon him in the English press, and demanded restraints upon its liberty. The English government prosecuted a Frenchman named Peltier, who had broken the law, but they refused to alter the law itself. Even more serious were the disputes about Malta, which was still occupied by the English. Napoleon was determined to regain it, if possible; but the English demanded to retain it for ten years, and this demand led to a declaration of war. The new war, which lasted from 1804 to 1814, was quite different from the former one. The old war had been an attack of the monarchies of Europe upon the French Republic. In the new one, France, under Buonaparte, was the aggressor, and Europe was on the defensive. When the war began, the great fear was that England would be invaded before the other nations of Europe could come to her assistance, and to meet this danger large additions were made to the army and the militia, and large bodies of volunteers were raised.

Fresh declaration of war.

No sooner had the war begun than there was a general wish that Pitt should come back to power. But by this time Addington had grown fond of his place, and was by no means willing to give way. Accordingly, Pitt, Fox, and Grenville, who had been Pitt's foreign secretary, united to oppose the ministry, and in 1804 Addington was forced to resign. Pitt then became Prime Minister, but the king refused to receive Fox, and as Grenville would not take office without him, Pitt was obliged to rely upon some of his personal friends and some of

Pitt again becomes Prime Minister.

Addington's followers, so that his ministry was by no means strong. Its chief members were, Pitt's old colleague, Henry Dundas (now Lord Melville), the Duke of Portland, and Lord Hawkesbury; and within a year Addington himself came back as Lord Sidmouth. Moreover, Pitt promised the king that he would not revive the Catholic claims.

Napoleon's plan for the conquest of England.

Shortly after Pitt became minister, Buonaparte, who had managed to reconcile the French to absolute power by creating a belief in plots, under which pretence he had contrived to banish his old rival Moreau, and to bring about the death of the Duke d'Enghien, a member of the royal family of France, had had himself proclaimed Emperor, and wished to signalize his accession by the conquest of England. To secure the assistance of her navy, he allied himself with Spain; and Pitt, following out his old policy, set about forming a third coalition, of which England, Austria, and Russia were to be the chief members. Napoleon's plan was to send his fleet to the West Indies, in hopes of enticing Nelson thither; if successful, it was at once to return to Europe, and, uniting with the Spanish fleet, was to sail for the Channel. At Boulogne Napoleon himself collected an immense army, which he hoped, by the aid of his fleet, to transport to England in Nelson's absence.

Failure of the plan.

At first Napoleon's plan was successful. Admiral Villeneuve escaped from Toulon, joined the Spanish fleet, and reached the West Indies, pursued by Nelson. There he should have met the Brest fleet, but that had been unable to break the blockade; he therefore returned full speed to Ferrol, in Spain, near Cape Finisterre. But by this time the English had learnt his movements, and off Ferrol he met a small English squadron, under Sir Robert Calder. Calder's fleet was only about half the size of that of Villeneuve, so that he was only able to take two Spanish vessels; and Villeneuve escaped into Ferrol. Thence he sailed to Cadiz, and meanwhile the greater part of the English fleet was collected at Brest, so that Napoleon's whole plan completely failed. Indeed, as soon as Napoleon heard that Villeneuve had gone to Cadiz, he broke up his camp at Boulogne and marched against Austria.

After a short stay in England, Nelson again started in pursuit

of Villeneuve, and at last found him off Cape Trafalgar. In the battle, Nelson, employing the same plan as Rodney had used against De Grasse, and Duncan against the Dutch at Camperdown, formed his vessels in two columns at right angles to the enemy's line, and, sailing upon them in this way, he broke their line in two places and threw them into confusion. The manœuvre was completely successful; the whole of the French and Spanish fleet was either sunk, captured, or forced to take refuge in Cadiz, where the French vessels fell into our hands at a later time.

Battle of Trafalgar.

Unfortunately, Nelson, whose brilliant uniform made him a mark for the enemy's balls, was killed by a rifle-shot. Happily, death did not come to him till his work was complete. Trafalgar had finished what the victories of the 1st of June, St. Vincent, and the Nile had begun. The English fleets were now supreme on every ocean, England and her colonies were safe from invasion, and her merchants could traffic in security on every sea.

Death of Nelson.

Had the coalition been as successful on land, Napoleon's career might have ended in 1805; but unfortunately the Austrians and Russians were utterly defeated at the battle of Austerlitz, and this disaster destroyed all hope of concluding the war at present. Soon after Austerlitz Pitt died, worn out by anxiety and hard work. It has been said that Austerlitz killed him; but he was too great a man for that. Except for the battle of Trafalgar, his ministry had been unfortunate. His best friend, Lord Melville, had been impeached in Parliament and forced to resign, in consequence of some irregularities which had been found in the accounts of the navy. His health was utterly failing him, and in January, 1806, just after the news of Austerlitz reached England, he died. Though Pitt did not live to defeat Napoleon, he had filled his countrymen with the determination not to be beaten. His last public speech concluded with the sentence, "England has saved herself by her exertions, and the rest of Europe will be saved by her example."

Disaster at Austerlitz.

Death of Pitt.

Pitt's place was taken by a coalition ministry, under Lord Grenville and Fox, in which an attempt was made to unite the ablest men of all parties, and for this reason it was called the ministry of "All the Talents."

The ministry of "All the Talents."

Its leaders hoped to make a satisfactory peace with Napoleon, and to carry on the progressive measures which had been checked by the French Revolution. In the first of these hopes they were disappointed. Fox, who when in opposition had always thrown the blame of the war on the English government, now found too late that Napoleon was the real offender; with the best intentions he opened negotiations with the emperor, but found him quite impracticable, and he had hardly been convinced of his mistake, when he followed his great rival, Pitt, to the grave, in 1806. At home, however, government was more successful, and before he died, Fox had the satisfaction of helping to pass a resolution condemning the slave trade, on which an act, passed in 1807, for its abolition was founded. Hitherto the efforts of Wilberforce and his friends, though they had the good will of Pitt, had been foiled by the House of Lords.

Death of Fox.

Resolution condemning the slave trade.

Abroad, the great event of the year 1806 was the battle of Jena, in which the Prussians, who had selfishly refused to help Austria and Russia in 1805, and so had been mainly responsible for their ruin, were completely crushed, and for some years the Prussian monarchy could hardly be said to be independent. After Jena, Napoleon issued his famous Berlin Decrees, by which he forbade France and all her allies to trade with England, and declared all English ports to be in a state of blockade. By this means he hoped, though he had no navy, to strike a heavy blow at English trade, on which he knew that our strength depended. In return England issued the Orders in Council, by which she forbade any trade to be carried on with French ports, or with ports occupied by French troops. The Berlin Decrees did not do England much harm, as Napoleon had no means of enforcing them; but the English, having the command of the sea, were able to effectively blockade the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the French ports, and practically to sweep from the sea the commerce of France and her allies. Unfortunately, the enforcement of the Orders made us the enemies of neutral states, such as Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, who wished to trade with France, and led to quarrels which soon involved us in war with the United States.

Battle of Jena.

Napoleon's Berlin decrees.

The Orders in Council.

In 1807, besides abolishing the slave trade, the ministers brought forward a measure for allowing Roman Catholics to hold the higher commissions in the army, as they already might the lower; but this revived all the old hostility of the king, and they were obliged to withdraw it. As they refused to bind themselves not to bring forward the subject again, they were dismissed. Their place was taken by the Duke of Portland, who as a young man had been premier of the coalition formed by Fox and North, and in 1794, frightened by the French Revolution, had led a great secession of moderate Whigs into Pitt's camp. Portland was now both a Tory and also an opponent of the claims of the Catholics, and his administration was formed on these principles. The chief members were Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Canning, Foreign Secretary; Lord Castlereagh, War and Colonial Secretary; Huskisson, Secretary to the Treasury. As it was thought that the new ministers must have given a definite promise to the king not to revive the claims of the Catholics, a motion was introduced "that ministers ought not to bind themselves by any pledge as to what advice they shall give the king;" but it was lost. Soon afterwards Parliament was dissolved, and the electors showed their sympathy with what George had done by returning a large anti-Catholic majority.

The Duke of Portland becomes Prime Minister.

Since the failure of Fox's negotiations the war had been going on as before; but the English had not been engaged in any operations of great magnitude. In 1806 General Stuart, who with a small English force was defending Sicily against the French, landed in Calabria, and defeated the French general, Regnier, in the battle of Maida. In 1807 it was learnt that the French had again formed the design of seizing the Danish fleet, so an expedition was sent against Copenhagen, which bombarded the city, captured the fleet, and also took the island of Heligoland, which forms a convenient station for a fleet, watching the mouth of the Elbe. In pursuance of our usual colonial policy, we again seized the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, and in 1807 expeditions were sent against the Spanish colonies of Buenos-Ayres and Monte Video. These expeditions were failures. Monte Video was captured; but General Whitelocke, who commanded at Buenos-Ayres, managed to entangle his troops in the streets, and

Continuation of the war.

Naval operations.

finally was forced to surrender and to give up Monte Video, as the price of freedom. Three years later, in 1810, we took from the French the island of Mauritius, which we still hold.

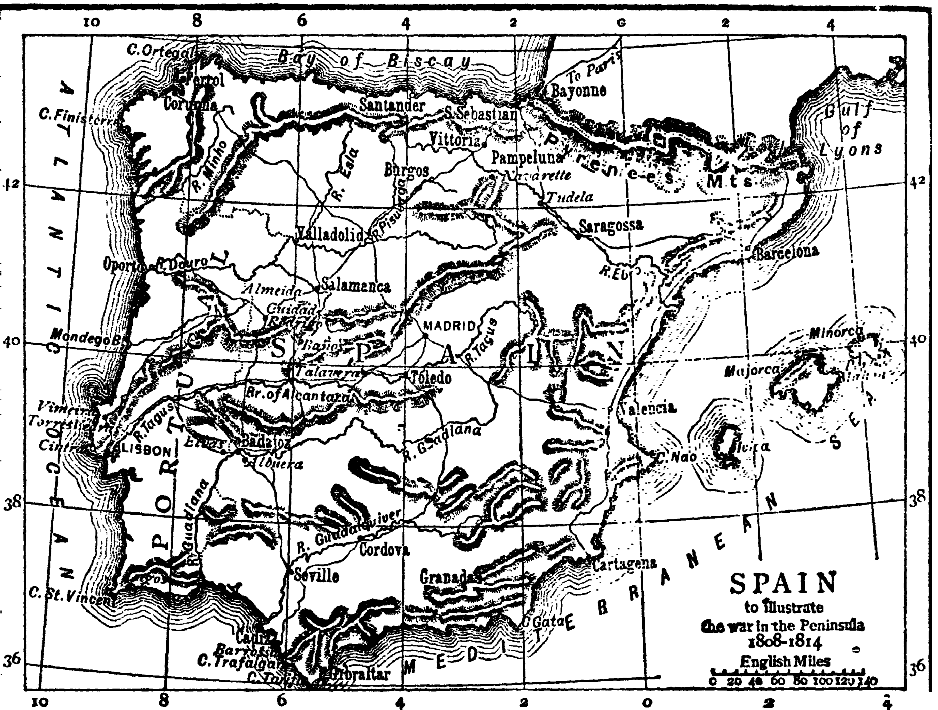
Meanwhile Napoleon, though he had been nearly defeated by the Russians at the battle of Eylau, had routed them at the battle of Friedland. This victory led to the treaty of Tilsit, by which Russia joined France against England. By this time Napoleon had extended his system of excluding English goods to every important European country except Portugal, and his next step was, in alliance with Spain, to form a plan for conquering that country, which he hated as England's firm ally, and partitioning it. Accordingly, a French army under Junot invaded Portugal, and forced the royal family to take refuge in their colony of Brazil. Napoleon's plan, however, now began to unfold itself; for, under pretence of supporting Junot, he managed to place French troops in command of all the important military posts in the north of Spain. Unfortunately, the King of Spain and his eldest son were at variance. Napoleon contrived to induce each of them to give up his claim, and he then forced the Spanish grandees, whom he summoned to Bayonne, to choose his elder brother, Joseph Buonaparte, whom Napoleon had already made King of Naples, to be their sovereign. French troops then escorted Joseph to Madrid, and took possession of the Spanish towns; but before long a rebellion broke out, in which the Spanish army took part. A French army was forced to surrender at Baylen; and in 1808 Joseph abandoned Madrid, and all Spain, except that part which lay close to the Pyrenees, was evacuated.

Napoleon's plan for the conquest of Portugal.

Designs on Spain.

This successful insurrection, which had gained the first great success which had been won over the French on land since the beginning of the war, and which had been gained, not by kings and their armies, but by an insurrection of the people, roused the enthusiasm of Europe; and Canning immediately despatched an expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, the victor of Assaye, to attack Junot, who was now completely cut off from France, and force him to surrender. Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay, north of Lisbon, and marched down the coast, defeating on his road a small force of French at Roriça. While encamped on the sea coast at Vimeira, Junot marched out

Expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley.


SPAIN
to illustrate
the war in the Peninsula
1808-1814
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
Bay of Biscay
Gulf of Lyons
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Pyrenees Mts
C. Ortegal
Ferrol
Corunna
C. Finisterre
R. Minho
R. Esla
Santander
S. Sebastian
Bayonne
To Paris
Vittoria
Burgos
Pampeluna
Tudela
Saragossa
R. Ebro
Barcelona
Valladolid
R. Pisuerga
Oporto
R. Douro
Almeida
Salamanca
Ciudad Rodrigo
Mondego B.
MADRID
R. Tagus
Talavera
Toledo
Br. of Alcantara
Vimeira
Torres Vedras
Cintra
LISBON
Elvas
Badajoz
Albuera
R. Guadiana
Valencia
C. Nao
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
R. Guadalquiver
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
C. Gata
C. St. Vincent
Cadiz
Barrosa
C. Trafalgar
C. Tarifa
Gibraltar
10
8
6
4
2
0
2
4
42
40
38
36

from Lisbon to attack him; Wellesley, however, defeated him in such a way that at the end of the action the English were in a position to cut off Junot's retreat. Unfortunately, during the battle two other generals arrived, both of whom were senior to Wellesley, and therefore had a right to take the command; they agreed to march on Lisbon, but wished to wait for reinforcements, and while they were hesitating, Junot asked for an armistice. The Convention of Cintra was then arranged, by which the French agreed to completely evacuate Portugal, on condition that their troops were transported to France. As these terms gave the English the great advantage of securing Portugal and all its fortresses without further fighting, they were agreed upon. Strangely enough, these very solid gains were not appreciated in England, where the French troops were expected to arrive as prisoners of war, and the ministry was obliged to satisfy public opinion by holding a court-martial on the generals. They were acquitted, but Sir Arthur Wellesley alone was employed again.

The Convention of Cintra.

The French troops had now been expelled from the whole of the peninsula, except the district that lay round St. Sebastian, where the road from France enters Spain. But in December Napoleon himself took the command, and in three weeks defeated the Spanish troops, captured Madrid, and dispersed the Spaniards in every direction. Upon this Sir John Moore, who had taken command of the English troops, advanced from Salamanca towards Burgos, and by striking at the French line of communications forced Napoleon to concentrate for its defence, and gained time for the Spaniards to recover. When this had been effected, Moore, whose army was far too small to encounter Napoleon's whole force, retreated to Corunna; and Napoleon, having entrusted the pursuit to Soult and Ney, returned to France, taking some of his best troops with him. When Moore reached Corunna he found that the fleet, which had been ordered to come round from Lisbon, had not arrived; and he therefore had to prepare for battle, for the French were close behind him. In the fight Moore himself was killed, but the English won, and succeeded in effecting their embarkation without molestation. Although during the war the English had fought no battles with the French comparable to Napoleon's great victories, still Alexandria,

Sir John Moore defeats the French at Corunna.

Battle of Corunna.

Maida, Vimeira, and Corunna showed that the English had lost none of the qualities which had won Agincourt and Blenheim, and encouraged the ministry to enter upon the war on a larger scale.

Accordingly, Sir Arthur Wellesley was soon despatched to resume the command in Portugal, which the French generals were now threatening. When he arrived, Soult was at Oporto, at the mouth of the Douro; and Victor and Joseph were in the valley of the Tagus, confronted by the Spanish army. Wellesley began the campaign by attacking Oporto in such a way that he threatened to hem Soult up in the angle which the Douro makes with the sea; but Soult abandoned his baggage and guns, passed by forced marches round the right wing of the English, and made his way to Salamanca, where he reorganized his army. Then, trusting to promises of Spanish support, Wellesley advanced into the valley of the Tagus, and joined the Spaniards. The allied armies were attacked by the French at Talavera. In this battle the allies were victorious; but Soult, who had reorganized his army with wonderful rapidity, made his way from Salamanca into the valley of the Tagus, and appeared in Wellesley's rear. In this predicament Wellesley was obliged to cross the Tagus and escape to Portugal by forced marches; while the Spaniards, who shortly afterwards were foolish enough to encounter the French by themselves, were utterly routed at Medellin. For the victory of Talavera Wellesley was made Viscount Wellington.

Sir Arthur Wellesley resumes the command in Portugal.

Battle of Talavera.

Spaniards defeated at Medellin.

The year of Talavera was also remarkable for witnessing the largest and most unsuccessful English expedition that had been made since Bannockburn. To help the Austrians, whose territory Napoleon had again invaded, an expedition was planned against Antwerp. No less than forty thousand soldiers were employed, but the arrangements were as bad as bad could be. The command was given to a holiday general, Lord Chatham, the elder brother of Pitt; no proper means were taken to ascertain the state of Antwerp, or the nature of the country in which the army was to operate. Consequently the soldiers were landed on the fever-stricken island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt. They took Flushing, but instead of

Disastrous expedition against Antwerp.

pushing forward at once to get into a more healthy climate, they delayed so long, that while the French were able to complete the defences of Antwerp, the British were utterly prostrated by disease, to withstand which, though almost within sight of England, they had hardly the most simple medical appliances. The result, of course, was a complete failure, and the army was withdrawn after effecting absolutely nothing.

Quarrel between Canning and Castlereagh.

Naturally none of the ministers were willing to take responsibility for so gross a blunder, and Canning, the Foreign Secretary, demanded that Castlereagh, the Secretary for War, should be removed from that post. Their mutual recriminations led to their resignation and ultimately brought about a duel. The Duke of Portland, who had long been failing, was quite unequal to cope with such a difficulty. He resigned, and his place was taken by Mr. Perceval, who made Lord Liverpool War and Colonial Secretary, and the Marquess of Wellesley, formerly Lord Mornington, Foreign Secretary. Both Lord Palmerston and Robert Peel, afterwards Prime Ministers, had places in the government. A year later George III., whose malady had returned, became permanently insane, and accordingly a Regency Bill, modelled on that proposed in 1788, was passed, and the Prince of Wales became regent.

Perceval's ministry.

The king becomes permanently insane.

Napoleon devotes his attention to Spain.

Napoleon, having closed the campaign of 1809 by the great victory of Wagram, by which he forced the Emperor of Austria to make peace, and to give him in marriage his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, the niece of Marie Antoinette, was now able to give his full attention to Spain. Accordingly, he sent one of his best generals, Massena, with a large force to invade Portugal. Wellington had anticipated the danger, and had constructed across the peninsula formed by the meeting of the Tagus and the Atlantic, the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, behind which he proposed to withdraw with the English and Portuguese troops, while he hoped to starve the French into retreat by destroying all the provisions on which they could subsist. This plan was completely successful. When Massena invaded Portugal, Wellington slowly retreated before him, carrying off or destroying the crops as he retired. Only once at Busaco he

fought the French, and gained a victory which encouraged the Portuguese without leading him to abandon his plan. It was not till he was within a few days' march of the lines that Massena heard of their existence; but when he saw them he recognized that they were impregnable, and as soon as his provisions were exhausted withdrew into winter quarters.

At the beginning of 1811, the first British success was a victory won by Sir Thomas Graham, who came out of Cadiz to attack the French, who were besieging that town. Graham won the battle of Barrosa, but then, owing to the concentration of the French, was obliged to retire. Wellington was soon able to follow up his success, and in May, 1811, had cleared Portugal of the French except the garrison of Almeida, which guards the northern road on the Portuguese side, and corresponds to Ciudad Rodrigo on the Spanish. He also formed the siege of Badajoz, which on the southern road corresponds to Ciudad Rodrigo on the northern; Elvas, which corresponds to Almeida, being already in his hands. The sieges of Almeida and Badajoz led to the battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera. In the first Wellington commanded in person, and foiled the French attempt to relieve Almeida, which was evacuated during the battle. In the second Beresford, who was a very brave man, but a general of little skill, was very nearly defeated, and, indeed, was only saved by the bravery of his soldiers from a great disaster. The French, however, in spite of their defeat, soon appeared in such numbers that the siege of Badajoz had to be raised.

Wellington in Portugal.

Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera.

Henry IV., King of France, had long ago said, "In Spain, if you make war with a small army, you are beaten; with a large one, you are starved." The great advantage Wellington possessed was that the French, who lived on the plunder of the country, could never for long keep a large army together—after a time they always had to disperse it; while Wellington, whose troops were chiefly provisioned from England, was able to keep his army much better in hand, and by rapidity of movement make up for his want of men. In this way, at the beginning of 1812, Wellington suddenly stormed Ciudad Rodrigo, and a few months later Badajoz, while General Hill seized

Wellington's successes in Portugal and Spain.

the bridge of Alcantara over the Tagus. These successes gave him the northern and southern gates of Spain, and enabled him to communicate readily between the two banks of the Tagus. His next step was to invade Spain along the northern road. This led to the battle of Salamanca, in which he defeated Marmont, and even took Madrid. He then attempted the siege of Burgos, but, as in the case of Sir John Moore's advance, an attack in that quarter led to the concentration of the whole French army, and he was forced to retreat again to the frontier, and the French retook Madrid.

Battle of Salamanca.

Meanwhile important changes had occurred in England. In 1812 an attempt had been made to induce Lord Grenville, the successor of Pitt, and Lord Grey (formerly Mr. Grey), the successor of Fox, to join the ministry. The plan broke down; but the Marquis Wellesley (formerly Lord Mornington) who had taken the post of foreign secretary in order to support his brother, left the government, and his place was taken by Lord Castlereagh. This nobleman was not a man of large views, but he was thoroughly in earnest about the war, and to his determination its ultimate success was in a large measure due. Hardly had this change been made, when Perceval was assassinated by a merchant named Bellingham. Negotiations were again opened with Wellesley and Canning, and also with Grey and Grenville, but they came to nothing, and Lord Liverpool (formerly Lord Hawkesbury) became Prime Minister. Castlereagh kept his place as foreign secretary, while Sidmouth took charge of home affairs.

Changes in the ministry.

On the whole these changes were favourable to Wellington, in whose success the country was at length beginning to believe, and fortunately the same year Napoleon undertook his disastrous expedition to Russia. Following Wellington's tactics at Torres Vedras, the Russians, instead of fighting on the frontier, steadily withdrew, drawing Napoleon after them; and though they were beaten at the great battle of Borodino, they did not make peace, but burnt their old capital, Moscow, to prevent Napoleon from wintering there. Under these circumstances Napoleon, like Massena, had no course but to retreat, and as winter had now set in, his trained army was utterly ruined; so for the future he had to rely upon raw

Napoleon's disastrous expedition to Russia.

Battle of Borodino.

conscripts or on soldiers drawn from the army of Spain. Naturally all Europe took advantage of his misfortune. Prussia joined Russia, and the French were driven back to the line of the Elbe.

It was under these circumstances that Wellington began the campaign of 1813. Sending Sir Thomas Graham forward with the left wing to threaten the French communications with France, he himself led the centre along the Burgos road, while Hill with the right advanced by the valley of the Tagus. This plan forced the French to abandon in succession Madrid and Burgos, and finally Wellington drew his whole force together at Vittoria, and attacked the French in such a way that Graham with the left seized the road behind them, while he and Hill engaged them in front. The result was the total rout of the French, who were forced to hurry across the frontier, throwing garrisons into St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, which guarded the roads to France, just as Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz had guarded those into Spain. These were next attacked, and in spite of a great effort of Soult to relieve them, which resulted in the battle of the Pyrenees (July), St. Sebastian was stormed in September, and Pampeluna soon afterwards was starved into submission. The same year, in Germany, Napoleon had been fighting an unequal warfare against his numerous foes. At Lützen and Bautzen in the month of May, and at Dresden in August, he was with difficulty victorious; but when the whole force of Austria was thrown into the scale against him, he was completely defeated at the battle of Leipzig (October 16–19), and forced to retire across the Rhine.

The campaign of 1813.

Battle of Vittoria.

Battle of the Pyrenees.

Napoleon in Germany.

Battle of Leipzig.

Next year France was invaded on all sides. On the north, Russians, Prussians, and Austrians poured across the frontier; while Wellington, with a force of British, Spaniards, and Portuguese, made his way into the old English province of Gascony. The ministry also sent a small British force to join the Prussians in Holland, but it was unfortunately defeated in an attempt to take Bergen-op-Zoom. Meanwhile Napoleon was fighting for his throne with all his old genius; but the odds were too much for him, and while he was winning victories at a distance, the allies stolidly continued their advance on Paris, which they entered

France invaded on all sides.

in March, and forced Napoleon to resign. While the allies were thus successful in the north, Wellington had been carrying all before him in the south. He had defeated the French in a series of battles, of which Orthez is the chief, and had completely destroyed Soult's line of defence, finally defeating that general at his last stronghold, Toulouse. Unfortunately, this battle was fought after an armistice had been made at Paris; but the slow travelling of news in those days prevented the intelligence from being known.

Napoleon forced to resign.

Battle of Orthez.

Battle of Toulouse.

After the fall of Paris it was arranged that Napoleon should withdraw to Elba, and make way for the restoration of the Bourbons. As the little dauphin, who after his father's death had been styled by the Royalists Louis XVII., was dead, the new king was Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., who had spent most of his time in England. A treaty was made with the new sovereign, called the First Peace of Paris. By this treaty France was allowed to keep the boundaries which she had had in 1792, with some additions. England kept Malta, Ceylon, the Cape Colony, and Mauritius. After this, the allied sovereigns paid a state visit to the prince regent in England, while a congress of statesmen was held at Vienna to settle again the map of Europe. At Vienna, England was represented by Lord Castlereagh, who on the whole worthily supported the cause of justice against some of the allied sovereigns. However, before their deliberations were ended, news was brought that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, that he had landed in France, and that Louis XVIII. had taken refuge in Brussels, while Napoleon had again taken the title of Emperor.

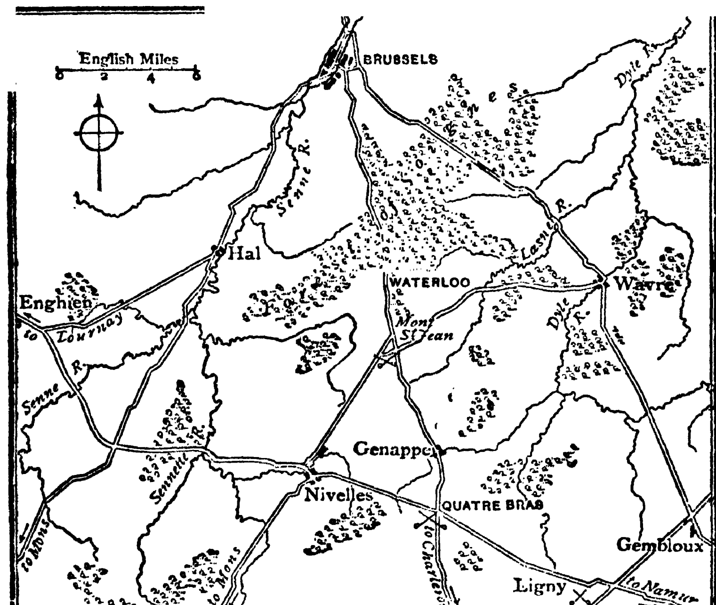
Napoleon withdraws to Elba.

First peace of Paris.

This disastrous intelligence caused the revival of the coalition, and arrangements were made for a general invasion of France. To anticipate this movement, Napoleon determined to lose no time in invading Belgium, which was defended by Wellington with a mixed army of British, Dutch, and Belgians, and by Blucher with an army of Prussians. Napoleon hoped to separate these armies, and then to penetrate between them to Brussels. The great object of the allies, therefore, was to keep close together, so that one might help the other in case

Arrangements for a general invasion of France.

of attack; but they made the mistake of spreading their troops too much, so the rapidity of Napoleon's movements at first gave him the advantage. He contrived, with two-thirds of his army, to beat the Prussians at Ligny, while the British at Quatre Bras were just able to hold their own against the other third, but were not strong enough to help the Prussians. Napoleon's right course



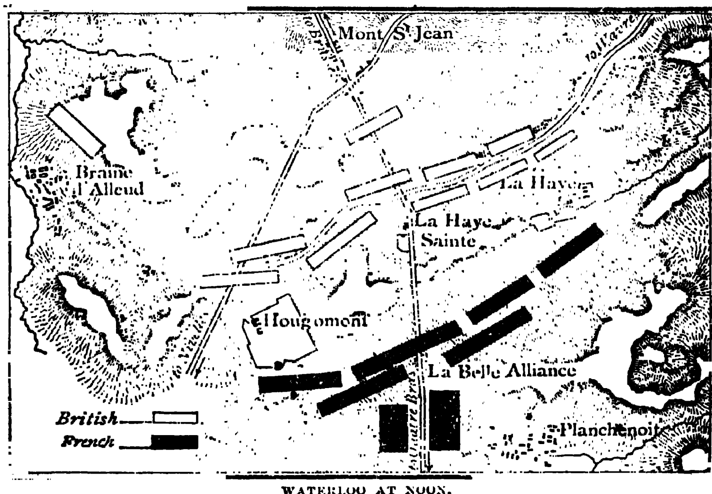
OPERATIONS OF WATERLOO.

was either to crush the Prussians, or to fall with his whole army on Wellington, but he lost time, and the allies were able to retreat almost unmolested.

Battle of Waterloo.

The British and Prussians withdrew respectively to Waterloo and Wavre, while Napoleon despatched one-third of his army, under Grouchy, to hold the Prussians in check, and kept two-thirds to attack Wellington. Wellington, however, arranged his troops so that his best men held three advance posts—the Chateau of Hougomont, and two sets of farm-

buildings on the slope of a slight valley—while his main body was arranged behind the brow of the rising ground in the rear. The strength of this position enabled him to hold out against all Napoleon's attacks till Blucher, who had left a fourth of his force to resist Grouchy, brought up the other three divisions to his support, and ranged his forces at right angles to Wellington's left flank. Thus forced to fight two armies at once, Napoleon made a desperate effort



WATERLOO AT NOON.

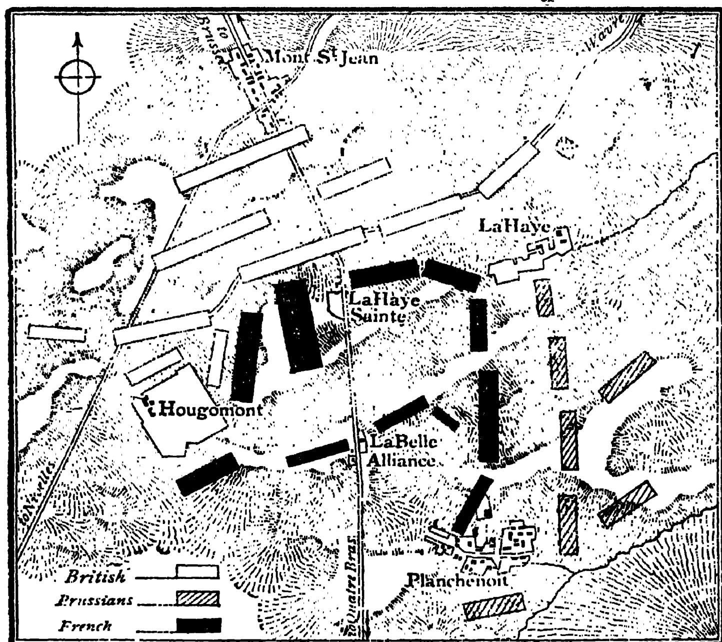
to break through the British line, but the steadiness of the British guards in the centre foiled him, and at the very moment when this occurred, the Prussians seized his main line of retreat. The consequence was that his army was completely dispersed, almost all his baggage and artillery falling into the hands of the allies.

Napoleon himself fled first to Paris and then to Rochefort, where he surrendered himself to the captain of a British man-of-war. By the common consent of Europe he was conveyed to the distant island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821. After Napoleon's flight, Louis XVIII. was again restored, and the second treaty of Paris was made. By this the fortresses of the northern frontier of France were to be occupied by the allies for five years; a money

Napoleon's flight.

The second treaty of Paris.

indemnity was to be paid; and all the works of art which Napoleon had barbarously stolen from their owners were to be restored.



WATERLOO AT SEVEN P.M.

While the allies were in Paris, the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia formed what was called the Holy Alliance, which was nominally intended to bind them to act together according to the principles of Christianity; in reality it was intended as a league to give mutual assistance for the repression of democratic doctrines. France and Spain subsequently joined it, but Lord Castlereagh refused England's consent.

The Holy Alliance.

The formation of the Holy Alliance is very important, because it shows that these absolute sovereigns knew that, though they had crushed Napoleon, they had not put down the principles of liberty and of equality before the law, which had been the central ideas of the French Revolution. Besides the spread of those principles to every country in Europe,

Importance of the Holy Alliance.

there had also arisen through the French wars the idea of nationality. Since the fall of feudalism in the fifteenth century, sovereigns had dealt with their dominions as if they were estates to be bartered or sold at the will of their owners; but the treaty of Vienna was the last which was framed solely upon this principle, and since then the notion that people of the same nation ought to be under the same political rule has been the guiding influence in European politics—a principle of which the union of Germany under the Emperor William, and that of Italy under Victor Emmanuel, have been best examples.

War with the United States.

During the latter part of the French war England had been unhappily engaged in a war with the United States, which had arisen out of the irritation caused by the Orders in Council. The Orders themselves had actually been revoked when the war broke out in 1812, but the slowness of news in those days made this concession too late to prevent war. The fighting was for the most part at sea, and was indecisive. On the Canadian Lakes the English suffered a reverse, and though one of their expeditions took Washington, another against New Orleans was unsuccessful. This most unsatisfactory war was brought to a close in 1814 by the treaty of Ghent, and happily it did not produce any permanent estrangement between England and her former colonists. After 1815 almost forty years passed before England was engaged in a European war, and during that time attention will have to be given to domestic affairs.

Treaty of Ghent.

Condition of the empire.

It will be well here to take a short survey of the condition of the empire. On the accession of George III. England had held in Europe, Minorca and Gibraltar; in America, Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the American colonies, with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and a few other West Indian islands; in Africa, St. Helena; and in Asia, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The follies of the American war lost us the North American colonies and Minorca. During the French war we gained in Europe, Malta and Heligoland; in Africa, Cape Colony, Ascension, and Mauritius; in the West Indian islands we secured Trinidad and Tobago, and on the mainland British Guiana. In India, by 1815, we had made ourselves masters of large tracts of

territory on the Ganges and Southern India, and the island of Ceylon, while we were indirect rulers of all south of the Himalayas except Scinde, the Punjab, and Nepaul. On the other hand, by peaceful means we had secured a claim to the great islands of Australia and New Zealand, and had founded regular colonies in New South Wales and Tasmania. Indeed, by this time England had almost completed the project of forming a great colonial empire, of which the lines had been laid down by the colonizing of Virginia, the formation of the East India Company, and the seizure of Jamaica by Cromwell.

The years which passed between the battle of Waterloo and the death of George III. were times of great depression in all branches of industry. During the war, in spite of the sacrifices which England had made, trade had been on the whole flourishing, though the workpeople had suffered from the low rate of wages and the high price of provisions, and it had been hoped that the restoration of peace would bring with it a period of great prosperity. Instead of this, no sooner had peace been declared than bad times began.

Distress which followed the general peace.

Cause of depression.

The depression of manufacture was in part due to revival of continental industry, which deprived England of the practical monopoly which she had enjoyed during the war, and so diminished the market for our manufactured goods. Trade was also affected by the uncertainty which existed in the money market, owing to the large number of bank-notes which had been issued by the Bank of England since Pitt had allowed it to suspend money payments in 1797. These notes had become part of the coinage of the country, but it had always been understood that money payments were to be resumed at the peace, and the uncertainty as to the demand for gold prevented prices from becoming steady. Quite independently of this, there was much distress in some districts in consequence of the rapid substitution of machinery for hand-labour, which, though it caused a great demand for new workmen, threw the old hands out of work, and resulted in riots against machinery, which broke out first in Nottinghamshire in 1811. The rioters called themselves Luddites, after a poor idiot who had once in a fit of passion broken a stocking frame,

Foreign competition.

Unsteadiness of prices.

Riots against machinery.

and the destruction of machinery was for many years very common in the manufacturing districts.

The depression of trade affected in its turn the prosperity of agriculture. During the war agriculture had been extremely prosperous. The price of corn had been as a rule about double what it had been before the war, for not only had the population and wealth of the manufacturing districts increased, but also no corn had been shipped to England from the Continent, so that the British farmers had had the whole benefit of the demand. This had resulted in many commons being reclaimed, and quantities of waste land being brought under cultivation, and the employment, therefore, of a very large country population. When peace came, it was feared that the introduction of foreign corn would result in a rapid fall in its price, and that the change would bring about a terrible disaster in the country districts through the failure of farmers and the sudden fall in the demand for labour.

Prosperity of agriculture during the war.

Accordingly, in 1815 a corn law was passed, prohibiting the introduction of foreign corn until the price of wheat had risen to 80*s.* a quarter. This price stood midway between the price of wheat before the war and its highest price during its continuance. It was thought that for the future the price of wheat would not vary much from 80*s.* This calculation was wrong. The high price expected encouraged the reclamation of land and the improvement of agriculture, and the consequence was that the price of wheat first rose and then steadily fell. In 1815 the season was good, and the average price of wheat was 63*s.* a quarter; in 1817 the season was bad, and the average price was 96*s.* a quarter, and would have been much more, had it not been for foreign competition, which began when the price reached 80*s.* The price then steadily fell, till in 1822 the average price was only 45s. If the harvest were good, farmers had plenty to sell, but the price was low in proportion to their rents; if bad, they had little to sell, and foreign competition prevented them from selling that little at a monopoly price; so that good years and bad were alike disastrous to the farming interest—a state of things which naturally led to the ruin of numbers of farmers, and to multitudes

Corn law passed.

Its effect

in good and in bad seasons.

of labourers being thrown out of work by the contraction of the area of cultivation.

This widespread distress caused much discontent both in the manufacturing and agricultural districts. In those days the poor had no votes, and therefore could not feel secure that their interests would be represented in Parliament. Their discontent, therefore, smouldered, and in the hands of the more violent took the form of disaffection. Terrified by the French Revolution, the government were exceedingly ready to believe rumours of plots and conspiracies, and undoubtedly there was a widespread feeling in England that the country was in a very dangerous condition.

Discontent in town and country.

Fear of revolution.

Of this disaffection, the first symptoms were the Spa Fields Riots, in which the mob attempted to plunder the gunsmiths' shops, and the insulting reception which met the prince regent when he opened Parliament in 1817. Alarmed by these occurrences, Parliament at once suspended the Habeas Corpus Act; and Lord Sidmouth, who was then Home Secretary, issued a circular to the lords-lieutenant of counties, authorizing magistrates to apprehend persons accused of libellous publications, by which were meant any writings in which government was attacked. The same year the unemployed workmen of Manchester organized a march of some of their number to London, to lay their case before the prince regent. These men were provided with blankets, in which they intended to sleep, from which the movement was called the "march of the Blanketeers." None, however, of those who set out got far on the journey. The same summer occurred the Derbyshire insurrection, in which some misguided men, encouraged, there is no doubt, to some extent by informers in the employ of the government, attempted an armed rising, which was, of course, quickly suppressed, and the ringleaders were executed. Similar troubles occurred both in the manufacturing and agricultural districts, and broke out at intervals till the revival of trade restored prosperity to the country.

Outbreaks and agitation in the distressed districts.

Among the more sensible members of the working classes discontent with the state of the country took the form of desire for Parliamentary reform, and the agitation for this, which had almost died out during the war, was

Desire for Parliamentary reform.

renewed both in and out of Parliament. In Parliament reform was advocated by Sir Francis Burdett, and out of it by William Cobbett, one of the most vigorous of all our writers of popular English. In the House of Commons several motions on the subject were brought forward by Sir Francis Burdett, while in the manufacturing districts the inhabitants of large unrepresented towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, were loud in their demand for a share in the government of the country, and large meetings of the working class, often attended by riots, were held all over the country.

These meetings alarmed government, and proclamations were issued against seditious meetings, which, by stifling legitimate agitation, only added to the discontent. Just after these proclamations a meeting was called in St. Peter's Field, Manchester, for the purpose of petitioning for Parliamentary reform. The meeting was densely crowded by deputations from all the neighbouring districts, who marched in procession with flags flying, accompanied by their wives and children. The size and enthusiasm of the meeting seem to have quite disconcerted the magistrates, who, finding that they could not easily arrest Mr. Hunt, the leading orator, actually ordered a body of cavalry and yeomanry to charge the unarmed crowd. The result was a scene of frightful confusion; men, women, and children were trampled under the horses' feet, or cut down by the swords of the soldiers. Several persons were killed outright, and numbers were injured. The government supported the magistrates in holding that the meeting was illegal, and secured the conviction and imprisonment of Mr. Hunt and some of the leaders, on a charge of conspiring to alter the law by force and threats.

The St. Peter's Field meeting.

Parliament, in its turn, supported the ministers, and passed the celebrated Six Acts, by which the use of arms, training in military exercises, and the holding of unauthorized meetings and assemblies were forbidden, and at the same time regulations were made by which newspapers were controlled, and the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels was made more difficult. These Acts were quite in accord with the fears of the upper classes, but there was never any real danger of revolution. The Acts, however, were strongly condemned by the Whigs, and Lord John Russell, who was then coming forward as their leader,

Six Acts.

tried to call attention to what he considered the true course, by proposing resolutions in favour of Parliamentary reform, which, however, were not carried.

Death of George III. It was in the midst of these difficulties that George III., who had long been quite incapable of even understanding what was going on around him, passed away in January, 1820, at the great age of eighty-one. He was succeeded by the regent, under the title of George IV.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS BETWEEN 1789 *and* 1820.

Outbreak of the French Revolution	1789
Habeas Corpus Act suspended	1794–1802
Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore	1797
Union of Great Britain and Ireland	1800
Orders in Council issued	1807
Slave-trade abolished	——
New Corn Law	1815
Six Acts passed	1819

CHIEF BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES (1789–1820)

Lord Howe's victory of June 1	1794
Battle of Cape St. Vincent	1797
„ Camperdown	——
„ the Nile	1798
Siege of Acre	1799
Battle of Copenhagen	1801
Treaty of Amiens	1802
Battles of Assaye and Laswaree	1803
Battle of Trafalgar	1805
Peninsular War begins	1808
Battles of Roriça and Vimeira	——
„ Oporto and Talavera	1809
Lines of Torres Vedras	1810
Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera	1811
Storming of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo	1812
Battle of Salamanca	1812
„ Vittoria	1813
„ Orthez and Toulouse	1814
„ Waterloo	1815

CHAPTER V.

George IV., 1820–1830 (10 years).

Born 1762; married, 1795, Caroline of Brunswick.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Lord Liverpool; the Duke of Wellington; Lord Castlereagh; Peel; Canning; Huskisson; Lord Goderich; O'Connell.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France.

Louis XVIII., d. 1824.
Charles X., expelled 1830.

Hardly had the new king ascended the throne, than the last of the conspiracies, which are to be classed with the outbreaks of Spa Fields and Derby, was discovered. This was the Cato Street Plot, which was arranged by Thistlewood—a man who had formerly held a commission in the army, but had become filled with the sentiments of French republicanism. His associates were butchers and draymen. The notion of these deluded men was to murder all the ministers while they were dining at Lord Harrowby's house, and then set up a provisional government. The scheme of the plot was as cruel as it was absurd. The plan was made known to the government, and the conspirators having been arrested at the last moment, Thistlewood and four others were executed, and the rest transported. The Cato Street Conspiracy was the last flicker of disaffection. Changes in the ministry brought about hopes of reform. The resumption of cash payments for bank-notes on demand, which had been arranged for by Peel's Act of 1819, came into operation soon afterwards. Trade was thus placed on a healthier basis, and in a short time the country was again prosperous.

Cato Street Conspiracy.

Hopes of better days.

The accession of George IV. brought about a difficulty in regard to the queen. When quite a young man, George had married Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic lady, a legal marriage with

whom would by the Bill of Rights have forfeited the crown. As it was, by the Royal Marriage Act (see p. 373), the marriage was illegal. Presently the king wished the prince to make a legal marriage, and arranged for him an alliance with Caroline of Brunswick, whom he married in 1795. This marriage naturally turned out unhappily, and after the birth of the Princess Charlotte the pair separated, and the princess lived away from the court, and in 1814 went to the Continent.

Marriage with Mrs. Fitz-Herbert.

Marriage with Caroline of Brunswick.

Meanwhile the Princess Charlotte was growing up, and was married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg; but a year afterwards, in 1817, she died, after giving birth to a dead child. The whole country was thrown into consternation, for neither the prince regent nor his three brothers, the Dukes of York, Clarence, or Kent, had any legitimate children. The Duke of York was already married, but had no family; so now the Dukes of Clarence and Kent also married, and the daughter of the Duke of Kent, Princess Victoria, born in 1819, became, after her uncles and father, heir to the throne.

Marriage and death of the Princess Charlotte.

While the Princess of Wales had been abroad, stories had reached England of improprieties in her conduct, and many thought she was unfit to be recognized as Queen of England. Accordingly, when her husband became king, her name was omitted from the Liturgy, and an attempt was made to prevent her from leaving the Continent. With great courage, however, she insisted on coming to England; and the ministers upon that, by the king's wish, brought in a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to divorce her from her husband and deprive her of the title of queen. The introduction of this bill was most unpopular; for the great mass of the people looked upon her as an injured woman. The bill, however, never got further than the House of Lords, which it passed by a small majority; it was not brought into the Commons, where the queen's friends were the strongest. The evidence, however, which was brought forward in support of the bill was so strong, that the queen's popularity sank, and shortly afterwards, broken-hearted at being refused admission to Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the king's coronation, she died.

Queen's name omitted from the Liturgy.

Bill of Pains and Penalties.

Death of the queen.

Soon after the death of George III. it became clear that the panic caused by the French Revolution was beginning to pass away, and that the country wished again to enter upon the path of progress, from which Pitt had been diverted by the outbreak of the war. Various signs showed this. In 1821 a bill for the relief of the Catholics was passed by the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords. Grampound, a corrupt borough, was disfranchised, and its two seats were given to the county of York. In the ministry itself changes were made; several members of the Grenville party were admitted, and Peel, the son of a cotton-spinner, whose sympathies were with the middle classes rather than with the aristocracy, succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary; but the greatest change that was made in the Cabinet was caused by the suicide of Lord Londonderry, formerly Castlereagh, in 1822.

Symptoms of new progress.

Castlereagh, who was a man of the most amiable character in private life, had little sympathy with public opinion or with progress. He had passed most of his life in fighting the cause of the minority against the majority, and his iron will had been the most powerful instrument in bringing to a successful conclusion the coalition against Napoleon. In England he was a strong upholder of repression, and abroad, though he refused to entangle England in the policy of the Holy Alliance, his sympathies were against any extension of the principles of liberty and equality. Though an excellent man for the work he had done, he was probably a bar to the coming in of a new era, and the joy which hailed his death, though it was bitterly cruel to the memory of a kindly and well-meaning man, expressed clearly the feeling of the public on the matter.

Castlereagh's character.

His successor at the Foreign Office was a very different man. George Canning was full of generous sentiments, and though he never for a moment lost sight of English interests, it was understood that his sympathies were with the people, and that where possible he would give them a helping hand. He soon showed that this was the case. During the war with France, the Spanish colonies of South America had thrown off their dependence on the mother country. This was a great advantage to England, as it opened the trade with them, and

Canning's policy.

Canning declared that no European power should help Spain to reconquer them, and fully recognized their independence. In 1826, when Spanish and French troops proposed to enter Portugal in order to overthrow the constitution which the Portuguese had set up, Canning forbade the step, and despatched English troops to the Tagus with such promptitude that the threat was withdrawn. When the Greeks broke out into revolt against Turkey, Canning's skill prevented Russia from taking the opportunity to seize Constantinople, and on the other hand secured the Greeks fair play in their struggle with their oppressors.

Progress at home.

While Canning was thus introducing new methods into English foreign policy, progress was being made at home. We saw that in the early part of Pitt's administration four questions had been to the front—Parliamentary reform, the rearrangement of the customs duties, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics. Each of these questions had become more complicated during the years which had since passed.

The reform question.

In the days of Pitt the central idea of Parliamentary reform had been to give the seats of the rotten boroughs to the counties, but within the last forty years the whole problem had changed by the rise of the great manufacturing towns. The introduction of spinning and weaving by machinery, and the use of steam as a new motive power, had altered the character of the country. Up to 1790, England, we may say roughly, had been an agricultural country; it had since been rapidly changing into a manufacturing one. This was a great revolution, and the massing together of great bodies of operatives and manufacturers in such places as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, brought into being a new and powerful public opinion which was as yet wholly unrepresented in Parliament. It was becoming plain that the old system of representation, which gave all the power to the counties and ancient boroughs, was out of date, and would have to be modified in some way.

The free trade question.

The next question, that of the rearrangement of the customs and of the laws regulating industry, had also been complicated by the introduction of the corn laws, which had made agriculture by far the most powerful of the protected

industries, and also by the rapid change in the industries of the country which followed the introduction of machinery and steam.

This question of duties was the first to be dealt with. Huskisson, who became President of the Board of Trade in 1823, was an enlightened follower of the commercial policy of Pitt, and he at once set to work to help manufactures by reducing the taxes which were levied on the introduction of raw materials, such as silk and wool; at the same time he largely modified the Navigation Acts by which goods were forbidden to be brought to England in any but English ships, or, in the case of European countries, in vessels belonging to the countries from which the goods came. Now that we wanted to do a large trade with North and South America, these restrictions had become insufferable. He also repealed the Act by which the wages of the Spitalfields weavers were fixed by the magistrates, abolished the restrictions on workmen travelling from one part of the country to another in search of work, and all laws *directly* controlling the combinations of either masters or workmen.

Huskisson's policy.

These measures gave a great impetus to trade, and unfortunately the sudden burst of prosperity led to much overtrading, and to the formation of bubble companies such as those of 1720. The natural result was a terrible panic in 1825, when many of these companies failed, and numbers of banks were ruined. A period of bad trade followed, during which riots occurred in the manufacturing districts, and much machinery, which was still thought by the workmen to be at the bottom of any misfortune, was destroyed.

Revival of trade.

The question of Catholic Emancipation had long been of first-rate importance. It had overthrown Pitt's first administration and also that of Grenville, and under Lord Liverpool it had been made an open question, *i.e.* one on which ministers might differ in opinion. Accordingly, Canning and Castlereagh, as followers of Pitt, had always favoured the Catholics, while Liverpool, Sidmouth, and Eldon had been against them. The question had, however, assumed a more serious shape since it had been taken up by the popular Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, who had in 1823 formed the Catholic Association to advocate the Catholic claims. This association

Catholic question.

O'Connell.

assumed vast proportions—levied a subscription from all Catholics, which was known as the "Catholic rent," and almost superseded the government of the country.

Accordingly, in 1825, the Association was suppressed for three years, but a relief bill was immediately introduced by Sir Francis Burdett, which passed the Commons by a large majority. In the Lords, however, it was met by a violent opposition, headed by the Duke of York, who spoke against it most strongly, and it was accordingly rejected—an act which was probably in accord with the wishes of the great mass of the country, who were in this respect more narrow-minded than the unreformed House of Commons. Undeterred by this failure, the Catholic Association was again started in an altered form, and the agitation was continued in Ireland as vigorously as ever.

Attempts at its settlement.

Meanwhile the ministry was becoming more and more disunited. Except in opposition to reform of Parliament, there was hardly any subject on which they agreed, and when Lord Liverpool fell ill, and resigned in 1827, the inevitable break-up took place. Canning became Prime Minister, and was supported by some of the Whigs, especially by Brougham. On the other hand, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, and Peel resigned their posts. Huskisson continued at the Board of Trade, Lord Palmerston continued Secretary at War, and Lord Goderich became War and Colonial Secretary. This ministry promised further progress, and it was thought certain that it would in a short time be joined by the leading Whigs, for whom, in fact, places had been kept, but unhappily it was completely ruined by the death of Canning, which happened within four months of his becoming premier. Abroad, Canning's chief attention was given to Greece. With great skill he arranged joint action between England, France, and Russia for the pacification of that country. This arrangement led to an attempt to prevent the Turkish fleet from coming out of the harbour of Navarino in order to unite with an Egyptian contingent in an attack upon the Ionian Islands. This led to a battle, in which the Turks were completely defeated; but the incompetence of the new ministers was unable to follow out Canning's other object of holding Russia in check. In con-

Resignation of Lord Liverpool.

Canning's ministry.

Death of Canning.

Battle of Navarino.

sequence the czar's troops advanced into Turkey and were very near taking Constantinople, and in 1829 only the interference of England and France succeeded in securing Turkey the humiliating treaty of Adrianople.

After Canning's death, Lord Goderich was for a few months prime minister; but he was quite unfitted for the post. The members of his ministry quarrelled among themselves, and in January, 1828, he resigned his post, so the plan of a progressive Tory-Whig ministry failed. The king then asked the Duke of Wellington to become Prime Minister, who formed an administration of Canningites and Tories, of which Peel was Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons, Huskisson Colonial and War Secretary, and Palmerston Secretary at War. The first event under the new administration was the passing, without much opposition, of a motion of Lord John Russell's for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, by which Nonconformists were admitted to full political rights. The same year an unsuccessful attempt was made to transfer the members for Penryn and East Retford to Manchester and Birmingham. The case of East Retford brought on a quarrel in the government; for Huskisson, who had voted in favour of the transfer, resigned, and was followed by Lords Palmerston and Dudley, Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne), and other Canningites, whose places were filled by Tories.

Duke of Wellington Prime Minister.

Hardly had this been done, when the Catholic question assumed a most alarming aspect. O'Connell himself was put up to contest the county of Clare against Vesey Fitzgerald, the new President of the Board of Trade. He was elected by an enormous majority, and nothing prevented him from taking his seat except his inability to take the necessary oaths, which as a Roman Catholic he could not do. The three years having now expired, the Catholic Association was revived, and the aspect of Ireland became so threatening, that Wellington was convinced that nothing but civil war could preserve the disabilities. This calamity he was not prepared to face, and accordingly he and Peel made up their mind that the disabilities must be repealed.

Election of O'Connell for Clare.

When Parliament met in 1829, the king's speech recommended it to consider the removal of Catholic disabilities, and, as a preli-

minary measure, an act was passed suppressing the Catholic Association. The king, however, now declared that, like his father, he had conscientious scruples to giving his consent to the bill; but, upon Wellington and Peel threatening to resign, he agreed to give way, and the bill was then passed, by which the Roman Catholics were allowed, instead of taking the customary oaths, to make a declaration that they would do nothing to injure Church or State. They were only excluded from the offices of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Viceroy of Ireland, and from the exercise of Church patronage.

Repeal of the Catholic disabilities.

At the same time that this bill passed, the Irish franchise in counties was raised from forty shillings to ten pounds, as it was thought that, now that Roman Catholics could be elected, the lower franchise would result in a complete exclusion of Protestants.

Change in the Irish franchise.

Unfortunately, the repeal was deprived of much of its grace by not including a special clause allowing O'Connell to take his seat without re-election. The ungraciousness of this, coupled with the raising of the franchise, robbed the act of its conciliatory character. O'Connell was, of course, re-elected, and soon began a new agitation for the repeal of the Union, which went on for many years. In June, 1830, George IV. died, and as the Duke of York had died in 1827, he was succeeded by the Duke of Clarence, with the title of William IV.

Agitation for repeal of the Union.

It has been said of George IV. that "he was a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad subject, a bad monarch, and a bad friend." With excellent abilities, he employed his talents solely for his own gratification, and when he died was the subject of almost universal contempt.

CHIEF EVENTS UNDER GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV

Test and Corporation Acts repealed	1828
Catholic Disabilities repealed	1829
Reform Bill passed	1832
Slavery abolished	1833
New Poor Law	1834
Municipal Reform Act	1835

CHAPTER VI.

William IV., 1830–1837 (7 years).

Born 1765; married, 1818, Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Earl Grey; Lord Brougham; Lord Althorp; Lord John Russell; Wellington; Peel; Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby; Lord Melbourne; Lord Palmerston.

Chief Contemporary Sovereign.
France.
Louis Philippe, 1830–1848.

The new king was much more popular than his brother; he had the manners of a sailor, cared little for state but much for popularity, and was believed to be in favour of reform. The new elections were favourable to the reformers, and at the same time a great impulse was given to popular enthusiasm by a successful revolt of the French against their despotic king, Charles X., and the establishment of a popular government under his cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who took the title of King of the French. This revolution reminded men of the English Revolution of 1688, and was thought to augur well for the triumph of the middle classes in this country.

However, before Parliament met, the beginning of perhaps the most striking revolution of the age was made by the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. This great step, which was due to the application of the steam-engine to the dragging of heavy carriages along the tram-lines which had long been in use, was mainly due to the ingenuity and determination of George Stephenson, a north-country workman, who thereby made himself a name as one of the greatest engineers of the age. The importance of the new step was recognized by a public opening, in which the Duke of Wellington and other ministers took part, and unhappily Mr. Huskisson, who had just been reconciled to the duke, was knocked down by a passing engine, and died of his injuries. The

Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

Death of Huskisson.

application of steam-power to navigation preceded the railway by some years. In 1803 Fulton, an American, successfully constructed a working steam-ship, and in 1838 the Atlantic was crossed by steam-power only, for the first time.

When Parliament met, the Duke of Wellington roused a great deal of feeling by declaring that the House of Commons needed no reform. There were a great many people who agreed with him, and many more who thought that a reform should be carefully considered, and should preserve as much as possible of the good features of the old system of representation. The great merits of the old plan were that on the whole it had worked well, that, in spite of its anomalies, it had very fairly represented the feelings of Englishmen, and that it had produced a body of statesmen who could compare in administrative ability, in rectitude and in eloquence, with those of any country in the world. Even the rotten boroughs had had their advantage in enabling leaders to introduce to political life young men of ability, and both the Pitts, Burke, Fox, Canning, Huskisson, and many others had gained their first seats in Parliament through this channel. Against this, however, it was to be said that many large and important towns were wholly unrepresented, that large and populous counties had the same number of members as small ones, and that the landed interest was over-represented, out of all proportion to the manufacturing.

Wellington's declaration against reform.

Merits of the old system.

Its defects.

The great difficulty, however, in the way of moderate reform was the fact that reform had been postponed so long. At the close of the last century the Rockingham Whigs and the King's friends had defeated Pitt's efforts in this direction; Canning had always been opposed to Parliamentary reform; and lately the Lords had defeated Lord John Russell's attempts to gradually transfer members from corrupt boroughs to the large manufacturing centres. The consequence was that nothing but a sweeping measure of reform would satisfy the country, and the Duke's ill-considered expression caused a storm of indignation.

Difficulties of reform.

However, before any resolution on the subject was brought in, the government were defeated on a motion connected with the Civil List, and the Duke immediately resigned. Upon this, Lord Grey, who had long led the Whigs in the

Lord Grey's ministry.

House of Lords, was sent for. He formed a ministry out of the old Whigs, with some followers of Canning and Grenville. The chief members were Brougham, who became Lord Chancellor; Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Melbourne, Home Secretary; Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary; Lord John Russell, Paymaster of the Forces; and Mr. Stanley, Colonial Secretary. Lord Grey had stipulated that reform should be a Cabinet measure, and in March, 1831, the Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, who had long been the champion of reform in the Lower House.

The proposed Reform Bill.

The bill was based upon the new principle of symmetry. It was proposed to disfranchise sixty-two boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants, and to take away one member each from forty-seven boroughs of only four thousand inhabitants. These members were to be divided among the large towns—of which the most important were Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Wolverhampton, and Sheffield—among the thickly populated districts of the metropolis, and among the larger counties. With regard to the right of voting, the qualification in towns was for the first time to be made uniform, and given to all householders paying a yearly rental of ten pounds. In the counties the right was to be given (in addition to the old forty-shilling freeholders) to all copy-holders to the value of ten pounds a year, and to leaseholders for twenty-one years, whose rent was over fifty pounds.

Bill defeated in committee.

The Bill passed the second reading by a majority of 302 to 301, but when its clauses were being considered in committee of the House, an amendment, introduced by General Gascoyne, that the members for England and Wales ought not to be diminished, was carried against the government by 8. Ministers, however, felt that the enthusiasm in the country was rising, and they therefore persuaded the king to dissolve Parliament in person, before the Lords were able to carry an address to him against dissolution.

Dissolution and general election.

The result of the election showed that ministers were right. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was the cry of the Reformers, and the Tories were beaten all over the country. The Reform Bill was now carried, on its second reading, by no less than 136 votes, and

after many weeks of discussion in committee, during which the fate of each borough was vigorously contested, the third reading was passed by 345 to 236. However, when the Bill reached the Lords, the opposition was strong enough to secure its rejection, and it was thrown out by 199 to 158. Its rejection caused the utmost indignation. Many of the peers and bishops were insulted by the populace. At Birmingham the bells were muffled and tolled; at Nottingham the castle was fired; at Bristol the mob, infuriated by drink, got complete possession of the city, released the prisoners, set fire to the Mansion House and the Bishop's Palace, and for three days gave themselves over to every kind of excess.

Second bill carried in the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords.

In December, Parliament again met, and the Bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of two to one, and was again sent up to the Lords. In the Upper House the second reading of the bill was carried by nine votes only, and it became clear that the feeling of the House was still against the measure. Under these circumstances the excitement in the country became intense. No less than 150,000 persons met at Birmingham to support the measure. It was seriously proposed that no taxes should be paid until the Bill had been passed. Everything presaged the coming of a revolution. In spite of this, the lords in committee carried by 35 a resolution adverse to the Bill. No course appeared open except to attack the House of Lords or to create new peers in order to form a Whig majority, as Harley had done in 1711. As the king refused to do this, ministers resigned. Upon this the king sent for the Duke of Wellington and implored him to help him; but the Duke, though with his usual courage he expressed himself willing to make an attempt, found that his followers refused to support him. Accordingly Earl Grey came back again, and the king consented, if necessary, to create new peers. This threat forced the lords to withdraw their opposition, and in June, 1832, the Reform Bill passed the Lords by 106 votes to 22.

Third bill carried in the Commons. Hostility of the Lords.

Agitation in the country.

Resignation of the ministry.

Passage of the Bill.

The Bill as it stood did not differ very much from that which had been introduced by Lord John Russell. One hundred and forty-three members were taken away from small

The Reform Act of 1832.

boroughs; of these, sixty-five were given to the counties, two members each to Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and eighteen other large towns, including the metropolitan districts, and one member each to twenty-one other towns, all of which had been previously unrepresented. The right to vote was as originally proposed, except that, by the Chandos clause, farmers occupying land rented at £50 a year were enfranchised.

Scotland and Ireland.

Bills of a similar character were then passed for Scotland and Ireland. The number of members for Scotland was increased from forty-five to fifty-three, and in Ireland from one hundred to one hundred and five. In both countries the franchise in towns was made the same as in England, but in Ireland the rights of the forty-shilling freeholders which had been taken away in 1828 were not restored.

Great features of the Reform Bill.

The two great points in the English Reform Bill were, first, the introduction of a uniform franchise, which had never before existed, each town having had rules of its own; and secondly, the transference of power from the agricultural to the manufacturing districts. A line drawn from Hull to Bristol will, roughly speaking, divide these districts; and, with very few exceptions, all the disfranchised towns lay to the south and east of this line, and all the enfranchised to the north and west of it. The equalization of the franchise, of course, gave the chief power to the most numerous class of voters, that is to the householders living in houses between ten and twenty pounds. It destroyed to a great extent the influence of the aristocracy in the boroughs, but they still retained their influence in the counties.

Meeting of the Reformed Parliament.

When the Reformed Parliament met, it was found that the Tories had only secured 172 seats, while the Whigs having carried all before them in the new constituencies had 486. A period of great legislative activity followed. In 1833 an act was passed for the emancipation of the West Indian slaves. The slave trade had been prohibited in 1807, but the sugar plantations of the West Indies had continued to be worked by slaves, who were a valuable property to their owners. In 1833 an act was passed by which slavery was to cease from August, 1834, and compensation was given to the slave-owners to the amount of £20,000,000. As a step between slavery and absolute freedom, the

slaves were to work for their masters as apprentices for seven years, which were afterwards reduced to four. It was also arranged that the duty on sugar grown by free labourers should always be less than that on sugar grown by slaves—a bargain which has not been carried out.

At home some important reforms were made. By one Act, passed 1833, an annual grant of £20,000 was made in aid of elementary education, which had hitherto been entirely conducted by the Church and other religious and philanthropic bodies. By another Act, introduced by Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) in 1833, the employment of children under nine years of age in factories was forbidden. This practice had sprung up since the introduction of machinery, to the great injury of the children's health and the ruin of their education. The Act has been extended from time to time, and in 1847 Fielden's Act limited the work of all young persons and women to ten hours a day. In 1834, by the Poor Law Amendment Act, the administration of the poor law was reformed, and a stop put to the practice of granting systematic outdoor relief in the case of able-bodied men, which had had such disastrous effects in the rural districts. This change from the old system to the new was, however, the cause of great hardship to the poor, who had been trained for years to rely on their parish pay to eke out their wages, and good as it was for the nation as a whole, it created much discontent among the working classes.

Education.

Factory Acts.

Poor law amended.

An important Act was passed in 1833 for the reform of the Irish Church, by which two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics were suppressed, and a commission was appointed to administer superfluous revenues. At the same time a severe Coercion Act was passed, on the ground that in 1832 no less than nine thousand crimes, arising out of the disturbed state of the country, had been committed. An Act was also passed in 1833 to compensate the Irish clergy for the loss of tithe which they had experienced through the resistance to its collection. In 1835 the tithes were commuted.

The Irish Church question led to a difficulty in the ministry. Mr. Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby), Sir J. Graham, and two others, disagreed with Lord Grey, and left

Ministerial changes.

the ministry. Before long they began to act with Sir Robert Peel, and took a high place in the Tory party.

Conservative reaction.

Meanwhile the Conservatives, as the followers of Peel had now begun to call themselves, to distinguish them from men of the type of Lord Eldon, were gaining ground under the able Parliamentary leadership of Peel, and the tide of enthusiasm which had carried along the reform ministry beginning to abate, a reaction was setting in. This soon showed itself in the form of disunion in the ministry. Grey differed with Althorp, the leader of the House of Commons, about renewing the Irish Coercion Act. Althorp sent in his resignation, and Grey, who was now an old man, retired. His place was taken by Lord Melbourne, an able but eccentric man, who had no enthusiasm for energetic reforms. This state of things encouraged the king to believe that there was a Conservative reaction, and as he had for a long time grown heartily tired of his ministers, he took the opportunity of Lord Althorp's going to the House of Lords on his father's death, to dismiss them and call the Duke of Wellington to take office. The Duke advised that Peel should be Premier.

Disunion in the ministry, and resignation of Lord Grey.

Lord Melbourne's first ministry.

King dismisses the Whigs.

This Peel accepted. The Duke of Wellington became Foreign Secretary; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor; Lord Aberdeen, War and Colonial Secretary; and dissolved Parliament. In the election the Conservatives gained nearly one hundred seats, but the Whigs were still in a majority of 107. Sir Robert Peel had announced himself in favour of steady progress, but he was continually defeated by the Liberals; and when Lord John Russell carried a resolution for applying the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to general moral and religious purposes, the same question upon which Mr. Stanley had left Lord Grey's ministry, he resigned. Lord Melbourne then came back to office, with Lord John Russell as Home Secretary and Lord Palmerston Foreign Secretary.

Sir Robert Peel's ministry.

Lord Melbourne's second ministry.

His first measure of importance was the Municipal Corporation Act, passed in 1835. Hitherto the governing bodies of towns had for the most part been close bodies which

Municipal reform.

filled up vacancies in their own ranks; by the new Act all town councils were elected by the ratepayers, and in their turn elected the mayor and aldermen. This arrangement made quite a revolution in the life of provincial towns; it gave an education in the practice of self-government, and it removed many abuses. The Corporation of London was powerful enough to get itself exempted from the provisions of the Act, and a few others from their insignificance escaped notice.

Tithe question.

By another Act the tithe question in England was settled. Hitherto rectors and vicars had collected their tithe, sometimes in kind, sometimes in accordance with a composition arranged between the parson and the tithe-payers. This was very irritating, especially to Nonconformists. By the new Act the tithe was commuted into a rent-charge, calculated according to the average price of corn for the seven preceding years.

Reduction of the duty on newspapers.

Publication of division lists.

In 1836 the circulation of newspapers was much increased by the duty upon them being reduced to one penny. The same year the House of Commons began to publish its own division lists, in this way giving accurate information to their constituents of the votes of their members. This and the publication of debates, allowed in 1771, have done as much as anything else to diffuse political knowledge throughout the country and to keep up an intelligent interest in the doings of Parliament.

Death of the king.

The next year, 1837, the genial old king died, and his niece, the daughter of the Duke of Kent, succeeded to the throne by the title of Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER VII.

VICTORIA, 1837–

Born 1819; married, 1840, Albert of Saxe-Coburg.

Chief Characters of the Reign.—Lord Melbourne; Sir Robert Peel; Lord John, afterwards Earl Russell; Lord Palmerston; the Earl of Aberdeen; Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby; Daniel O'Connell; Richard Cobden; John Bright; W. E. Gladstone; Benjamin Disraeli, created Earl of Beaconsfield; Lord Hartington; W. E. Forster; C. S. Parnell; the Marquess of Salisbury.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

Russia.	Italy.	France.	Prussia.
Nicolas, 1825–1855. Alexander II., 1855–1881. Alexander III., 1881–	Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, 1849. King of Italy, 1861–1878. Humbert, 1878–	Louis Philippe, 1830–1848. Republic, 1848–1852. Louis Napoleon, Emperor, 1852–1870. Republic, 1870–	William, 1861-1871. Emperor in Germany, 1871–

THE new queen, who had come of age at eighteen little more than a month before the death of her uncle, had lived in great privacy before her accession, but the impression she made on her first appearance was most favourable, and a hopeful feeling spread through all ranks of a prosperous and happy reign. In 1840 the queen married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, her cousin, who made her an excellent husband, and devoted himself to advance the moral and intellectual well-being of the people among whom he came to live.

Her succession dissolved the connection between England and Hanover which had existed since 1714, as the Salic law, by which no woman could reign, was the rule in that country, and her uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, became its king. The loss of Hanover, however, did no harm to England.

Separation from Hanover.

Its possession brought us neither honour nor profit, but, on the other hand, was a constant source of danger lest we should be dragged into German politics.

A much more serious loss than that of Hanover, however, threatened to couple with disaster the accession of the new queen.

Canada question.

Canada was thoroughly disaffected. The difficulty there arose mainly from the difference between the French and English population. The Canada Act of 1774 had given the same government to all Canada, but had secured special privileges to the French; but Pitt's Act of 1791 had divided Canada into two parts. One of these, Lower Canada, was inhabited almost exclusively by the descendants of the French; the other, Upper Canada, by English and Scotch settlers, and by loyal Americans, who had crossed over into Canada when the United States became independent. Each of these states had a separate governor and legislature. This plan had not worked at all well. There were constant difficulties in both states between the legislature and the executive government, in which the English government supported the executive, and in 1837 Lower Canada broke into a revolt, which was easily suppressed by Sir J. Colborne.

The Melbourne ministry then sent out Lord Durham, the ablest of the younger members of the Whig party, as special commissioner with unlimited powers.

Lord Durham's mission.

In dealing with the ring-leaders of the rebellion, he, in order to avoid the excitement of a trial, banished them by his own authority to Bermuda, and denounced death against them in case they should return. This act was approved in the colony, but it was attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, who had been irritated by not being again made chancellor on the return of the Melbourne ministry; and Lord Melbourne cancelled the ordinance. Lord Durham at once resigned, but his plans were carried into effect by his successor, Lord Sydenham. The Act of 1791 was reversed, and the two Canadas united in a legislative union, and the way was paved for a Federal union of all the North American colonies. Canada has since been conspicuous for its loyalty to the English crown.

The weakness which Lord Melbourne's government showed in the

case of Lord Durham was thoroughly characteristic of a ministry which pleased no one, but to which there was no obvious successor. Sir Robert Peel had no majority, and Lord Durham, the only man outside the official followers of Lord Melbourne who was strong enough to take a line of his own, was dying. This state of things was most exasperating to the ardent reformers, and resulted in the growth of agitation in the country. This agitation had two objects, and was conducted by two quite different classes of men—the manufacturers who wished to abolish the corn laws, and the Radicals who wished for further Parliamentary reform.

Weakness of Lord Melbourne's ministry.

The Radicals had looked on the Reform Bill of 1832 with very different eyes to the Whigs. To the Whigs it had been a measure which was to settle the constitution of Parliament for at least a very long time; to the Radicals it was only a step in the right direction. Accordingly, when the Radicals found that the first fervour of reforming zeal had died away, and that the Melbourne administration was little if any more energetic than a Conservative government, they began to agitate for further Reform.

The policy of the Radicals.

Their wishes were embodied in a Charter, in which they demanded (1) universal suffrage, on the ground that every grown-up man had a right to a vote; (2) vote by ballot, to secure the voter from intimidation; (3) annual Parliaments, to secure the dependence of members on the wishes of their constituents; (4) payment of members, in order to enable poor men to leave their work if elected; (5) the abolition of the property qualification, by which no one could sit unless he had a certain amount of property (this rule, as a matter of fact, had long been evaded); and (6) equal electoral districts, in order to make the value of each man's vote as nearly equal as possible.

The charter.

The advocates of this scheme, who were called Chartists, were of two kinds. Those who were in favour of force were called Physical Force Chartists, those in favour of agitation only, Moral Force Chartists. The leaders were Feargus O'Connor, a member of Parliament, and Hetherington, Vincent, and Lovett, working men. The Chartists held large public meetings, which sometimes, in the agitated state of the country, led to riots, and in 1839 an attempt at rebellion was made at Newport, in South Wales,

The Chartist agitation.

under the lead of Mr. Frost, a magistrate. This was, of course, easily suppressed, and some of the leaders were transported; but the agitation continued for years, and roused great enthusiasm among the unrepresented classes.

The other movement in favour of free trade in corn had its origin in the wants of the manufacturers, who saw that one effect of the corn laws was to keep bread at a higher price than it would have been had foreign corn been allowed to be imported free of duty, so that foreigners might, whenever they could, undersell the English farmers in the home market. This artificial raising of the price necessarily increased the hardships of the unemployed workpeople whenever there were bad times in the manufacturing districts, and had the effect of making the interest of the manufacturing population hostile to that of the country districts, which depended for their prosperity on the condition of agriculture and the amount of employment which could be given on the land. The manufacturers, therefore, set on foot the Anti-Corn Law League, whose most active spirits were Richard Cobden and John Bright, both manufacturers and men of great eloquence, and they set on foot a crusade against the corn laws, which they carried on in the manufacturing districts.

The free trade movement.

While the country was thus being agitated by Chartism on one side, and the anti-corn law agitation on the other, the Melbourne ministry was in the last stage of weakness. In the general election on the queen's accession, the Conservatives had 310 members. In 1839 the government only carried a bill for suspending the constitution of Jamaica, in which island there had been constant trouble since the Act of 1833, by five votes.

Resignation of the Whigs.

Upon this Lord Melbourne sent in his resignation, and Sir R. Peel attempted to form a ministry, but was foiled by an unexpected difficulty. It had always been the practice at court that the personal attendants of the sovereign should be of the same way of thinking as the ministers, and therefore that when a ministry resigned the household should resign too. This had been easy in the case of a king, but it was not so easy in the case of a queen, who naturally objected to have her domestic circle broken up; and Lord Melbourne had made it still more difficult by putting the most confidential

The Bed-chamber question.

places into the hands of the wives and sisters of his own colleagues. Sir R. Peel naturally wished that these should be changed, but, as the queen objected, he gave way, and threw up the task of forming a ministry. Melbourne thereupon came back again; but his ignominious return, as it was said, "behind the petticoats of the ladies of the Bedchamber," was of small advantage to his party, for the Whigs were weaker than ever.

Return of Lord Melbourne.

The only important event of their ministry at home was the adoption by Rowland Hill of the penny postage scheme in 1839, which quite revolutionized the postal arrangements of the country, and not only conferred an immense boon on all classes, but also gave a vast impetus to the prosperity of the country by the increased facilities it offered to business.

Penny post.

In the colonies, the last years of William IV. and the early years of Queen Victoria were of considerable importance. In 1836 South Australia was first colonized, its capital taking the name of Adelaide from the queen of William IV. The next year Natal was founded by Dutch settlers, who had made their way north from the Cape of Good Hope. At first they were independent, but in 1841, Natal was placed under English rule. In 1839 we acquired Aden, which is to the entrance of the Red Sea what Gibraltar is to the Mediterranean. The same year New Zealand was first permanently colonized.

Progress of the colonies

In 1841 Sir R. Peel carried a vote of want of confidence in the ministry by one vote. Parliament was dissolved, and in the general election the Conservatives, carried by the reaction which had shown itself since 1832, secured 367 seats, giving them a majority over the Whigs of 86. Lord Melbourne was at once defeated, and resigned office. The resignation of Lord Melbourne brings to a close the period which followed immediately on the passing of the Reform Bill. Many important measures had been passed, but the enthusiasm had died out. The defection of the Chartists and the independent wishes of the Anti-Corn Law League had weakened the Whigs. On the other hand, the great reputation of Sir R. Peel as a financier, a department in which the Whigs were believed to be weak, was a tower of strength to the Conservatives in the towns, while the fear of the abolition of the corn laws was the mainstay of the Conservatives among the farmers.

General election and fall of the Whigs.

The part which Lord Melbourne had had to play since the accession of the queen was a most difficult and important one, for upon him fell the duty of teaching her the conduct of business and the functions of the sovereign in the working of the constitution. This Lord Melbourne, in spite of his want of tact in the arrangement of the household, is admitted to have done with great skill, and for it the nation will always owe a debt of gratitude to his memory.

Lord Melbourne's influence on the queen.

The chief members of Sir R. Peel's ministry were the Duke of Wellington, who led the Lords; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor; Lord Aberdeen, who was Foreign Secretary; Lord Stanley, War and Colonial Secretary; and Sir J. Graham, Home Secretary. Mr. Gladstone was Vice-President and afterwards President of the Board of Trade.

The first concern of the new government was with Indian affairs. Since the Mahratta war of 1803, the British territories in India had made great progress. In 1813 we defeated the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, which lies close to the Himalaya mountains. In 1818 we put down the Pindarries—bands of professional robbers who infested the territory of the Great Mogul. In 1819 we acquired Singapore, an island which commands the Straits of Malacca. In 1824 we made war upon Burmah, and took Rangoon and the surrounding territory on the coast, leaving the district of Upper Burmah, annexed in 1885, independent. In 1826 we took Assam.

Progress of India.

These annexations made our connection with India more that of rulers than ever, and when the East India Company's charter was renewed in 1833, the trade with India and China was thrown completely open. The Company, however, still preserved its position as a political body, and continued to govern India, subject to the Board of Control which Pitt had established, twenty-five years longer.

Reform of the East India Company.

Meanwhile the steady advance of Russia in Central Asia had begun to excite fear that she would intrigue against us in India, if only as a counterpoise to our well-understood hostility to her designs on Constantinople; and when, in 1838, it was learnt that a Russian envoy had been received at Cabul, the capital of Afghanistan, the country which includes the great towns

Russians in Afghanistan.

of Herat, Cabul, Ghuznee, and Candahar, commanding the approaches to India on the north-west, a demand was sent to Dost Mahomed, Ameer of Afghanistan, that he should be dismissed.

As the Ameer refused, British troops invaded the country and captured Ghuznee, Candahar, and Cabul. Dost Mahomed surrendered, and Shah Sujah was set up in his place. Unfortunately, the English leaders at Cabul allowed themselves to be outwitted by Akbar Khan, Dost Mahomed's son, and agreed to retreat to the frontier under a safe conduct. This was broken, and of the whole army only one man, Dr. Brydon, survived the attacks of the enemy and the bitter cold of the Afghan winter, and reached Jellalabad, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, where he found General Sale still holding out. To wipe away our disgrace, new armies were sent into Afghanistan, which recaptured Candahar and Cabul. After all Dost Mahomed was restored.

First Afghan war.

Disastrous retreat from Cabul.

Hardly was the Afghan war over, when a misunderstanding with the Ameers of Scinde, the territory which lies at the mouth of the river Indus, caused an invasion of their territory by Sir Charles Napier. The Ameers' troops were beaten in the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad, and their land added to the Company's territories in 1843.

Annexation of Scinde.

Meeanee and Hyderabad.

The war against Scinde was quickly followed by one against the Sikhs, who occupied the Punjab, a district of five rivers, all of which flow into the Indus. Their powerful army threatened the peace of the surrounding districts, and as they refused to disband we attacked and defeated them in the great battles of Aliwal and Sobraon, in 1846. Three years later war again broke out. The Sikhs were defeated at Chillianwallah and Goojerat, and the Punjab was annexed by the Company in 1849.

First Sikh war.

Aliwal and Sobraon.

Second Sikh war.

Meanwhile at home the first years of Sir R. Peel's ministry were not marked by any events of first-rate importance. In Scotland a great secession took place from the established Presbyterian Church, and the seceders formed the Free Church of Scotland. In Ireland Sir R. Peel did a gracious act by passing a bill to increase the yearly allowance which had been made

Free Church of Scotland formed, 1843.

Maynooth grant, 1844.

since 1795 in aid of the maintenance of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, where Irish priests were usually educated. Mr. Gladstone left the ministry because he had previously written against such a measure. Sir R. Peel also devoted great attention to finance, and in his budget of 1842 followed the policy of Pitt and Huskisson by taking the duty off a very large number of small articles, for which he substituted an income tax for a limited period.

Peel's finance.

The great question of the day, however, was that of the corn laws. The real difficulty was, how to make things as easy as possible for the manufacturers without ruining the agriculturists by throwing vast tracts of arable land out of cultivation. Since 1815 various schemes had been tried to this end, and in 1842 Sir R. Peel arranged a sliding scale by which the duty on foreign corn varied exactly according to the price in England, so that it could be introduced as soon as ever it would pay to sell it. Lord John Russell, who was now the leader of the Whigs, was understood to be in favour of a fixed duty of eight shillings in the quarter, which, as it would always be the same, would be more likely to make trade steady. However, the free-traders Cobden and Bright still agitated for total repeal, and in 1845 they were assisted by the terrible catastrophe of the Irish famine.

Corn law question.

For years the Irish had learnt to rely upon the potato for their main support, and in that year the potato crop failed. It was certain that 1846 would be a year of famine, and it seemed intolerable that the price of corn should be kept up by artificial means. Accordingly Peel made up his mind that the corn laws must go, and offered to resign his post, feeling that as at the general election the maintenance of the corn laws had been one of the promises of the Conservatives, he was not the right person to propose their repeal.

The Irish famine.

Peel changes his mind.

Lord John Russell, however, failed to form a government, because Lord Grey (son of the former prime minister) refused to sit in the cabinet if Lord Palmerston, who had alarmed the Whigs by his vigorous action in foreign policy, was allowed to be Foreign Secretary. Lord Stanley, who refused to have anything to do with the repeal of the corn laws, was not prepared to form a government.

Lord John Russell fails to form a ministry.

Sir R. Peel therefore remained in office as the only possible minister, and replaced Lord Stanley by Mr. Gladstone, who came back as a free-trader. In 1846 Peel carried a measure for the total repeal of the corn laws. The effect of this was to at once lower the price of corn, and as soon afterwards there was a great revival of the prosperity of the country, the blow was not felt by the agricultural population with as great severity as they had expected; while the knowledge that bread is always as cheap as possible is a great preservative against popular outbreaks in time of bad trade.

Repeal of the corn laws by Peel.

Its effect.

It could not be expected, however, that the agricultural interest would easily forgive Peel for having, as they thought, betrayed them. Accordingly they formed a separate party in the House of Commons under the lead of Lord George Bentinck, with Mr. Disraeli as their chief spokesman. This party denounced Peel with all their might, and when in consequence of the disturbed state of Ireland caused by the famine it was necessary to re-enact the Arms Act, they joined the Whigs in voting against it, and Peel was driven to resign office. Upon this Lord John Russell became Prime Minister, with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

Anger of the agriculturists.

Defeat of Peel.

Lord John Russell Prime Minister.

The year 1848 was marked by revolutions in almost every capital in Europe. In France the government of Louis Philippe was overthrown and a Republic established, of which Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, nephew of Napoleon the First, was afterwards elected president. Similar disturbances occurred in Italy, Germany, and Austria, and a great impetus was given to the desire of both Germany and Italy for national unity, and to the aspirations of all nations after popular government. England's share in the upheaval was a rebellion in Ireland and a great Chartist demonstration.

The year of revolutions.

After O'Connell had secured the removal of the disabilities of the Catholics he at once began an agitation for the repeal of the Union, and in spite of the reform of the Irish Church, the settlement of the tithe question, the reform of Irish municipal boroughs, and other Irish legislation, he continued to agitate under the governments of Lords Grey and Melbourne. In the time of Sir R. Peel the movement reached formidable dimensions;

O'Connell's repeal agitation.

O'Connell's word was law in Ireland, and he had a large following in the House of Commons. Some of his supporters in Ireland were eager to have recourse to arms, but O'Connell, rightly appreciating the uselessness of this, forbade it, and his authority was sufficient to secure the putting off without disturbance of a huge meeting at Clontarf, which had been forbidden by the government. O'Connell, however, had gone so far that he was prosecuted by the government, and convicted in 1844.

Prosecution of O'Connell.

Though the sentence was set aside on the ground of a legal error, O'Connell never recovered his influence; but the failure of his constitutional agitation exasperated the younger members of his party, and preparations for rebellion were soon begun. The leaders advocated rebellion in the *United Irishman* newspaper, and when outbreaks occurred on the continent the excitement in Ireland became very great. Government, however, prosecuted the leaders, and secured the conviction and transportation of Mitchel, the editor of the *United Irishman*. This action disconcerted the conspirators, and in 1848 the actual rising, which was led by Mr. Smith O'Brien, a member of Parliament, was a complete failure.

Outbreak of rebellion.

In London, the Chartists organized a great demonstration on Kennington Common, from which they intended to march in procession to Westminster, and to present a monster petition to Parliament. Great fears were raised that this would result in a riot, and as wild rumours were afloat of the number of armed Chartists who were ready for rebellion, military precautions were taken by the Duke of Wellington, and numbers of special constables were sworn in. The whole affair turned out a farce. The procession was never formed. The petition, when presented, was found to contain numbers of fictitious and absurd names, such as the Duke of Wellington, Prince Albert, and Punch, and society soon regained its confidence.

Great Chartist meeting.

The subsidence of the Chartist agitation for reform was soon followed by the taking up of the question in Parliament itself, and in 1851 Mr. Locke King carried against the government a motion for making the franchise in counties the same as that in boroughs. On this Lord John Russell resigned; but as Sir R. Peel had died in 1850, and Lord Stanley

Reform taken up in Parliament.

could not form a government, Lord John consented to resume office.

In 1849 a great step was taken in the history of the British Empire by the grant of Parliamentary institutions to the Australian colonies. This grant has been extended by degrees to other colonies, and has been of the utmost importance in securing to the colonies the control over their own affairs to which such flourishing and loyal communities are justly entitled. The same year the navigation laws, which had been modified by Huskisson, were altogether repealed.

Parliaments granted to the Australian colonies.

Repeal of the Navigation Laws.

In the year 1851 the first of the series of great exhibitions was held, chiefly through the influence of Prince Albert. Hopes were aroused in some quarters that wars would soon be unknown, and that commercial rivalry would engross the energies of all nations to the exclusion of military ambition.

Great Exhibition

However, in December the same year Louis Napoleon took advantage of the unpopularity of some acts of the Republican deputies, and of the popularity of the name of Napoleon among the soldiers and the peasantry, to overthrow the republic which he had sworn to defend, and to secure absolute power for himself. A year later he took the title of Emperor of the French.

Coup d'État of Louis Napoleon.

It was generally believed that the new emperor would try to repair the disasters of his uncle, by winning military success over Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and especially that he would attempt to avenge Waterloo. Accordingly, Lord John Russell brought in a bill to strengthen ourselves by reorganizing the militia. To part of this bill Lord Palmerston, who had been compelled to resign his office of Foreign Secretary in consequence of a letter he had written to Louis Napoleon without the consent of his colleagues, objected, and he succeeded in defeating the government. On this Lord John again resigned, and the post of Premier was taken by Lord Stanley, who had now succeeded his father as Earl of Derby, and Mr. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer. This government, however, did not last long, for Mr. Disraeli's budget

Fears of French ambition.

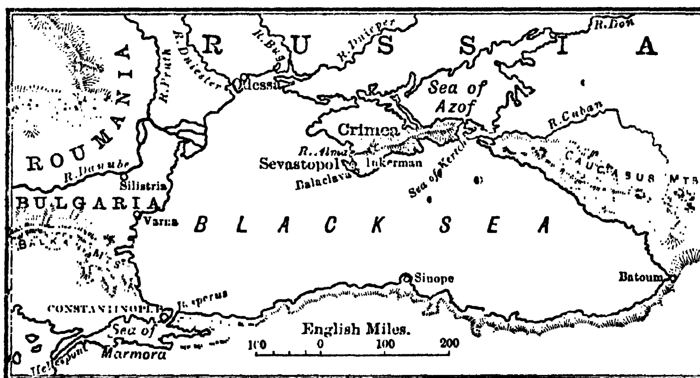
Resignation of Lord John Russell.

Lord Derby's first ministry.

was so severely criticised by Mr. Gladstone, that Lord Derby was defeated.

Lord Aberdeen's ministry.

A coalition ministry was then formed by a union between the followers of Sir R. Peel, of whom the chief were Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Sir J. Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone, with Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. In this government Lord Aberdeen was Premier, Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord John Russell was for a few weeks Foreign Secretary, but in 1853 was succeeded by Earl Clarendon, and Lord Palmerston, to whose foreign policy the Peelites objected, took the Home Office. At home Mr. Gladstone continued Peel's financial policy of remitting taxation as far as possible and so securing the advantages of free-trade.



THE OPERATIONS IN THE EAST, 1854-6.

Origin of the Russian war.

It is not, however, for their home policy that the Aberdeen government is famous; the chief event of its time was the Russian war, into which we entered as the allies of France and Turkey. Fear of Russian intrigues against the Turkish empire was the cause of the war. The Czar demanded that the Sultan should acknowledge his right to protect the Christian subjects of Turkey. This would have made Russia all-powerful in Turkey, and England and France supported the Sultan in his refusal. Unfortunately, Lord Aberdeen's ministers

failed to make Russia understand that they meant what they said, and that war would follow if their demands were not regarded. The Emperor of the French was desirous of fighting the Russians as the ally of England, and the feebleness of the ministry allowed England to be dragged into a war of which neither we nor the Czar Nicolas were desirous.

The Russians began by attacking the Danubian provinces of Turkey, and after they had been driven back by the Turks, the British and French decided to invade the Crimea in order to destroy the great Russian arsenal of Sebastopol, which was to the Black Sea what Portsmouth is to the English Channel. On landing, the allies, under Lord Raglan, defeated the Russians at the battle of the Alma, September 20, and then formed the siege of Sebastopol by sea and land. The attempts of the Russians to relieve it led to the battles of Balaclava on October 25, and Inkerman on November 5, in which the allies were again victorious; but the severity of the winter and the miserable arrangements of the home government made the siege a much longer operation than had been expected.

Outbreak of war. Campaign in the Crimea.

Alma.

Balaclava. Inkerman.

The disgraceful mismanagement of the war by Lord Aberdeen and some of his colleagues, caused Mr. Roebuck to bring forward in the House of Commons a motion for a committee to inquire into its cause. This led to the resignation of the ministry in January, 1855. Lord Palmerston, in whose vigour every one believed, then became head of a Whig ministry. The new ministry pushed on the siege vigorously. A railway was made from Balaclava to the camp, and supplies of all kinds were sent out in abundance. In the spring Sardinia joined the alliance, and in September, 1855, Sebastopol fell. Besides invading the Crimea, the British fleet had bombarded some of the Russian ports in the Baltic, but without much success, while in Asia Minor the Russians took Kars from the Turks. Neither side saw any chance of inflicting fatal loss on the other, and in 1856 peace was concluded at Paris. By that peace Russia was bound not to refortify Sebastopol nor to keep men-of-war in the Black Sea. These conditions were repudiated by Russia in 1870; but the result of the war was to cripple her resources for some time.

Lord Palmerston's first ministry.

Results of the war.

The war with Russia was followed by a difficulty with China. The Chinese were very hostile to European traders, and the first war with them had occurred in 1839. This had resulted in the cession of Hongkong to England, and the opening of several other ports to our trade. In 1856 the Chinese, quite legally, seized the *Arrow*, a vessel of the kind known as a lorcha, which was flying the British flag. This led to a quarrel with the Chinese Custom House officers, in which the British were in the wrong, and war followed. The conduct of Lord Palmerston was vigorously attacked by the Peelites, by Lord John Russell, by the Conservatives, and by Cobden and Bright, who had become the leaders of the Manchester school of politicians, who disapproved of Lord Palmerston's vigorous assertion of the rights of Englishmen on this and other occasions. On being beaten in the House of Commons Palmerston requested the queen to dissolve Parliament, and the country gave him a large majority.

Chinese wars.

Before the war with China had gone far, the country was startled by the news of a mutiny among the Bengal sepoys in India. The causes of the outbreak were numerous. Much excitement had been caused by Lord Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh, from which many of the Bengal sepoys came. There was a widespread but unfounded fear among the natives that the British intended to introduce Christianity by force and to put an end to their cherished practices and superstitions. There was a prophecy that the British rule should only last for one hundred years, and that time had now elapsed since the battle of Plassey. Lastly, the authorities had served out rifle cartridges, the bullets of which were wrapped in greased rags. This grease was said by the natives to be made of cow's fat and hog's lard, and as the Hindoos reverenced the cow, while the Mohammedans detested the hog, the result of the mixture was to irritate both the Hindoos and the Mohammedans.

Causes of the Indian mutiny.

Accordingly, the Bengal sepoys broke into revolt, murdered their officers, seized Delhi, where they set up as leader the descendant of the Great Mogul, and tried to raise a national rebellion. The British army, however, at once besieged Delhi, which prevented the mutiny from spreading, while other parties held out at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, and at

Outbreak of the mutiny.

Cawnpore on the Ganges. Lower down the river the British never lost the upper hand. Unfortunately, Cawnpore was taken before relief came, and a terrible massacre followed. Lucknow held out till General Havelock forced his way in and reinforced the garrison. After great exertions Delhi was captured, mainly owing to the fidelity of the recently conquered Sikhs, which enabled Sir John Lawrence, the commissioner of the Punjab, whose admirable rule had in four years completely won over the Sikhs, to send large reinforcements to the besiegers of Delhi. This success broke the neck of the mutiny. Soon Sir Colin Campbell arrived from England with reinforcements, and though very severe fighting followed, especially at the final relief of Lucknow, the country was at length reduced to quiet.

Results of the mutiny.

Since the mutiny the proportion of English to native soldiers has been much larger than before. The result of the mutiny was to bring to an end the long and great career of the East India Company. A bill was passed transferring its powers to the Crown, which administers them through a Secretary of State in England and a Viceroy or Governor-general in India.

Conspiracy to Murder Bill.

In 1858 Lord Palmerston's government was defeated on a Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which had been brought in in consequence of the discovery that a plot made by Orsini, an Italian, to murder the Emperor of the French had been contrived in England. It was thought that Lord Palmerston had shown too much deference to the wishes of the French, against whom the British were irritated on account of the vainglorious and threatening language of the French military officers. In consequence of the fear of invasion, large bodies of volunteers were formed after the model of those at the beginning of the century, and these have since become a most important part of our system of national defence.

Volunteers formed.

Lord Derby's second ministry.

Lord Palmerston was followed by Lord Derby, who again made Mr. Disraeli his Chancellor of the Exchequer. By them a Reform Bill was introduced, which attempted, while extending the franchise, to give greater weight to education and thrift by giving votes to graduates and schoolmasters, holders of savings in the public funds and savings banks. These were stigmatized by Mr. Bright as "fancy franchises,"

and on the defeat of the bill, Lord Palmerston again became Prime Minister, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Gladstone, who had the reputation of being the greatest financier of the day, and who now ranked as a Liberal, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This government brought in a Reform Bill, but soon dropped it; and as neither Lord Palmerston nor the Conservatives wished for reform, the subject was not brought forward except by private members for several years. In 1860 Cobden negotiated a commercial treaty with France, similar to that made by Pitt in 1786, by which both countries agreed to lower their customs duties with a view to the promotion of commerce. In 1861 the duty on paper was abolished, and as the tax on newspapers themselves had been repealed in 1855, the press has since this date been untrammelled by taxation.

Lord Palmerston's second ministry.

During Lord Palmerston's government, however, several very important events happened abroad. In Northern Italy, in 1859, France joined Sardinia in expelling the Austrians from Lombardy, which was effected by the battles of Montebello, Magenta, and Solferino; and in the South Garibaldi freed Sicily and Naples. These countries, with Tuscany and Parma, joined Sardinia, whose king, Victor Emmanuel, was in 1861 proclaimed King of Italy by an Italian Parliament, the States of the Church and Venice being still in the hands of the Pope and Austria respectively.

Formation of the kingdom of Italy.

In 1861 a war broke out between the Northern and Southern States of North America, which threatened to result in the division of the United States into two hostile communities. In this war England and the European States remained neutral. In spite, however, of our neutrality, a cruiser, the *Alabama*, was built at Birkenhead for the Southern States, and allowed to leave the harbour. This act was regarded by the Northerners as an infringement of our neutrality, and caused great irritation, which was not allayed till 1872, when Mr. Gladstone's Government submitted the matter to arbitration, and we had to pay £3,000,000 as damages. In the end the North triumphed, and the integrity of the Union was preserved mainly through the indomitable perseverance of President Lincoln and the military skill of General Grant. During the war the slaves of the Southern

Civil war in the United States.

States were declared to be free, and since then the negroes of the United States have had the same rights as their fellow-citizens.

The same ministry saw a distinct step taken in the direction of German unity. Ever since 1814, when Germany had risen against Napoleon, many of the best statesmen of that country had wished to see her united into one people, instead of being divided into a number of small and often hostile states; but the opposition of the small courts to any idea of extinction was a great bar to progress in this direction. In 1834, however, a move was made by uniting all Germany into a Zollverein or Customs Union; and the revolutionary year of 1848 gave a further impetus to the question. So long, however, as Austria was the leading State nothing could be done, and France viewed with jealousy any change which was likely to make Germany stronger; but in 1861 William I. became King of Prussia, and made Herr von Bismarck his chief adviser. This great statesman saw that German unity could be effected by making Prussia the leading State, and he steadily worked for that purpose and encouraged the idea of German unity. Up to 1864, however, Austria and Prussia were on fair terms, and in that year they took from Denmark the provinces of Holstein and Schleswig, which were German by nationality, but had long been in Denmark's hands. Two years later, however, in 1866, they quarrelled, and a war ensued between Prussia and a few of the North German States, against Austria, who was supported by Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony, and the South Germans. In this war Prussia was completely victorious, owing to the genius of her great general, Moltke, and the advantage given by the possession of a breech-loading rifle, and completely defeated the Austrians at the battle of Sadowa. The result was to exclude Austria from interfering in Germany proper, and to place Prussia, as Bismarck intended, at the head of the German nation. At the end of this war Italy acquired Venice by treaty, but Rome still remained under the rule of the Pope.

Progress of German unity.

War against Denmark.

Victory of Prussia over Austria and her allies.

Venice gained by Italy.

In 1861 the queen had the misfortune to lose her husband, the Prince Consort, who had long been her chief adviser. In 1863 the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark.

Death of Prince Albert and marriage of the Prince of Wales.

The death of Lord Palmerston in 1865 was the end of a period which may be said to have begun in 1835 with the first ministry of Sir R. Peel. During it many most valuable measures had been passed and many reforms instituted. It had seen the establishment on a large scale of our railway and steamboat systems, the introduction of the penny post and the telegraph, the advance of all forms of education, and the formation of a widespread public opinion. This opinion had latterly taken the shape of a desire for further Parliamentary reform, and it was universally expected that the death of Lord Palmerston would be followed by a movement in that direction.

Death of Lord Palmerston and beginning of a new period.

Accordingly, the new Prime Minister, Earl (formerly Lord John) Russell, framed a Reform Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Gladstone. This bill was a moderate measure, and consequently pleased nobody. It was disliked by Mr. Bright and the Radicals because it did not go far enough, and by the Conservatives and moderate Whigs because it went too far, and Mr. Robert Lowe, a Whig, went so far as to form a group of members to oppose it. These discontented Whigs were likened by Mr. Bright to the followers of David in the cave of Adullam, and were hence called the Adullamites. They were strong enough to enable Mr. Disraeli to defeat the bill, and Lord Derby upon that came into office with a Conservative government, of which Mr. Disraeli was leader in the House of Commons.

Earl Russell's second ministry.

Mr. Lowe's case.

Lord Derby's third ministry.

Reform had now been attempted in vain by private members and by both Whig and Tory governments. There was a strong feeling that the question ought to be settled, especially as large meetings in the country and riots in Hyde Park showed that the unenfranchised classes were thoroughly in earnest in their demand for votes. Accordingly, the government determined instead of merely lowering the franchise from £10 to £6 as had been proposed, to settle the matter once for all by giving a vote to all householders in towns. This course was not popular with many Conservatives, and Lord Cranbourne (afterwards Marquess of Salisbury) and Lord Carnarvon resigned office; but it was supported by the Liberals, and a bill to this effect was successfully passed in 1867. At the same time

The Reform question settled.

the franchise in the counties was given to all £12 householders, and a partial redistribution of seats was effected, by which, following the method of 1832, many members were taken from ancient but small boroughs and given to rising towns or to populous counties.

Household franchise in towns.

Meanwhile the state of Ireland had begun to attract attention. The armed outbreak of 1848 had proved a failure; but the large part taken by Irishmen in the American war had filled the leaders of disaffection with the hope of getting Irish soldiers from America; and accordingly, Stephens, who had taken part in the rising of 1848, formed the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the members of which are generally known as Fenians. The attempt at armed insurrection completely failed, but numerous outrages were perpetrated both in England and Ireland.

Serious state of Ireland.

Fenian Conspiracy.

Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone, who was now regarded as the leader of the Liberal party, declaring that it was unjust to Ireland to maintain the Irish Church, determined to disestablish it. In this he was supported by the Liberal party, and he carried a resolution in favour of disestablishment against the government. In the general election which followed, the Liberals, as had been the case in 1832, secured a large majority, having 128 votes more than their opponents, and Mr. Disraeli, who had become Prime Minister on Lord Derby's retirement through ill health, immediately resigned.

Gladstone's Irish policy.

General Election.

The new ministry, of which Mr. Gladstone was Premier, Mr. Lowe Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Bright President of the Board of Trade, was pledged to extensive reforms both in Ireland and England. In the former it disestablished and partially disendowed the Irish Church, passed a Land Bill, giving Irish tenants the power of selling their tenant-right and unexhausted improvements to the incoming tenant, which it was hoped would permanently assuage the ill-feeling which had existed between landlord and tenant in that country, and attempted unsuccessfully to establish a new system of Irish university education.

Concessions to Ireland.

In England Mr. Forster proposed, in 1870, an Education Act, by which School Boards were to be elected, where necessary, by the inhabitants of parishes and boroughs,

Reforms in England

with a view to filling up at the expense of the ratepayers any deficiencies in the supply of elementary education which had been already provided by the philanthropy of the clergy or other benevolent persons. The University Test Act, passed in 1871, allowed Nonconformists and Catholics to take their degrees at Oxford and Cambridge universities. A Ballot Act, by which secret voting in elections was secured, was passed in 1872. An Act creating a Supreme Court of Judicature including all those courts which from time to time had sprung out of the old Curia Regis, such as those of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery, was passed in 1873. In 1871 the queen, by the advice of the government, cancelled the Royal Warrant by which officers in the army bought and sold their commissions.

Foreign Affairs.

Abroad, the great events were the Franco-German war of 1870-71, during which, after a series of defeats, Louis Napoleon was forced to surrender at Sedan and dethroned; Paris was taken; all Germany was united under the rule of the King of Prussia, who took the title of German Emperor; and France lost the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which, like Schleswig and Holstein, were claimed by Germany. After the fall of Napoleon France again became a republic.

Russia's repudiation of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris.

During the war the Italians took Rome, which became the capital of united Italy, and so brought to an end the temporal power of the Pope. The English ministry secured the neutrality of Belgium, which had been guaranteed in 1839; but Russia having declared her intention of again placing men-of-war on the Black Sea, the Treaty of Paris was set aside in her favour.

General Election. Disraeli's ministry.

In 1874 Mr. Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament, proposing if replaced in power to abolish the income-tax. A Conservative reaction, however, similar to that which followed the first Reform Bill, had set in, and the Conservatives having gained a majority of forty-eight over all the other parties, Mr. Disraeli returned to power. A period of stagnation in legislation followed the reforming zeal of Mr. Gladstone, and the chief interest of the nation was given to foreign politics.

The state of the Christian provinces of Turkey had again become very serious, and not only did Herzegovina break out into revolt,

but also Servia engaged in open war with Turkey. The great danger was, that Russia would use these troubles as an opening for pushing on her usual designs against Constantinople, and the Turks, afraid of this, put down a new revolt which broke out in Bulgaria with terrible cruelty. This outrageous conduct was denounced by Mr. Gladstone with the utmost violence, and for a time the country was filled with indignation against Turkey.

Turkish affairs.

Meanwhile, as had been expected, Russian troops crossed the Danube and invaded Turkey, and, in spite of a brave resistance from the Turks, seemed to be on the point of seizing Constantinople. To prevent this the Earl of Beaconsfield (formerly Mr. Disraeli) despatched an English fleet to Constantinople, brought India sepoys to Malta, and made it clear that England would oppose the occupation of that city by the Russians. The matter was settled by the Berlin Treaty, by which the provinces which Turkey had oppressed were separated from her, but, to prevent their being too much under the power of Russia, were divided into two provinces, in one of which the governor was to be appointed by Turkey.

Russo-Turkish War.

Trouble next occurred in India. In 1876 the queen took the title of Empress of India, by which it is meant that she has the same position as was claimed before the mutiny by the Great Mogul. Russia, checked at Constantinople, began to press forward in Asia, and in 1878 sent an envoy to Cabul exactly as she had done in 1838. War followed, and the English forces took Cabul and Candahar, placed a new ameer on the throne, and forced him to concede certain places along the frontier which made us much stronger than before. Unhappily, the envoy, Cavagnari, who was sent to represent England at Cabul, was murdered in a popular outbreak, and we were again obliged to invade the country and retake Cabul and Candahar.

Second Afghan War.

Meanwhile in Ireland, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's concessions, a demand had been springing up for an Irish Parliament, under the name of Home Rule, and a Land League had been formed on the model of the Catholic Association of O'Connell, to secure further concessions to the tenants. This promised very serious difficulty in the immediate future, and Lord Beaconsfield, when Parliament was dissolved in

Home Rule movement in Ireland.

1880, pointed out the danger. However, Mr. Gladstone had raised a great wave of indignation against the foreign and domestic policy of Lord Beaconsfield in a series of eloquent speeches delivered by him in the course of a visit to Scotland, and he found himself returned to power by the large majority of 106 over the Conservatives. Some Irish members, however, who numbered sixty, kept aloof from either party, and declared themselves, under their leader, Mr. Parnell, the "opponents of any English government, Whig or Tory."

General Election.

Defeat of the Conservatives.

Mr. Gladstone accordingly became Prime Minister, with Mr. Forster Irish Secretary, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lord Hartington Secretary of State for India, and Mr. Chamberlain President of the Board of Trade. He began a further course of Irish legislation, passing, in 1881, the Irish Land Act, by which rents in Ireland, instead of being settled, as elsewhere, by contract between landlord and tenant, were fixed for fifteen years in advance by a tribunal called a Land Court. At the same time he passed a very severe Coercion Act, and imprisoned Mr. Parnell and many of the Irish leaders, who retaliated by advising the tenants not to pay any rents at all. After a time Mr. Parnell was released, upon which Mr. Forster resigned. The new Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered immediately on his arrival, and another and severer Coercion Act was then passed.

Gladstone's second ministry.

Land Act.

First Coercion Act.

Second Coercion Act.

Abroad, Mr. Gladstone, after some unsuccessful fighting, restored practical independence to the Transvaal, a Dutch settlement in South Africa which had been annexed by Lord Beaconsfield, and withdrew the British troops from Candahar. In 1882 he interfered in Egypt, in which country France and England had for some time exercised a dual control, and suppressed a movement which had been set on foot by an officer named Arabi, with the object of securing influence for the army and native Egyptians. In this interference the forts of Alexandria, which were in Arabi's hands, were bombarded, and Arabi himself defeated by General Wolseley, at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. While the British army was in Egypt an insurrection, headed by a religious adventurer styled the Mahdi, broke out in the Soudan, a

Interference in Egypt.

province on the Nile, which had long been in the possession of Egypt. On the defeat of an Egyptian army led by an Englishman, the English Government ordered the Khedive to abandon the Soudan, and sent General Gordon to effect the peaceful withdrawal of its garrisons. The Mahdi, however, besieged General Gordon at Khartoum, and the government sent out an expedition to rescue him, but delayed so long that, before assistance arrived, Gordon was taken and killed. New South Wales sent a contingent to assist England, which took part in the operations, and Canadian boatmen were employed on the Nile.

General Gordon.

Meanwhile the Liberals, who had long advocated the extension of household suffrage to the counties, passed a bill through the Commons for that purpose. The bill, however, was rejected by the Lords, who thought that a plan for redistribution of seats ought to be submitted at the same time. The rejection of the bill caused some agitation in the country; but after a time a conference was agreed upon between the leaders of both parties, and a joint scheme of redistribution was adopted, which continued the change begun in 1832, and also, by splitting up large constituencies into several divisions returning one member each, attempted to secure the rights of minorities.

Household franchise in the counties.

Compromise between Liberals and Conservatives.

This bill was agreed upon, but before it had passed, the Gladstone administration was defeated on the Budget, and on the resignation of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury came into power. In the General Election which followed in the autumn of 1885, the Conservatives and Liberals were nearly equally balanced in the English towns, but the Liberals secured a majority in Scotland, Wales, and among the newly enfranchised county voters; while Ireland returned a large majority of Home Rulers.

Fall of the Gladstone administration.

Lord Salisbury's ministry.

General election.

The actual numbers of parties were, Liberals 332, Conservatives 250, Home Rulers 86. When Parliament met, Lord Salisbury's government was defeated on an amendment to the Address, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the third time. It was soon announced that the Prime Minister had determined to adopt a Home Rule policy in Ireland, and in April, 1886, he brought forward two bills dealing with Ireland.

Change of government.

The first of these proposed to alter the Act of Union of 1800 by enacting (*a*) that a Parliament should sit in Dublin for the consideration of all Irish matters which were not reserved for the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; (*b*) that the Irish members and Irish peers should cease to sit in the Imperial Parliament except when the constitution of the Irish government was under revision; (*c*) that the executive government of Ireland should be responsible to the Irish Parliament; (*d*) that Ireland was still to be regarded as part of the United Kingdom, and should pay a contribution to imperial expenses; (*e*) that the control over foreign affairs, the army and navy, and the regulation of the Irish customs duties should be reserved for the Imperial Parliament.

The Home Rule Bill.

The second bill was a Land Act, by which it was proposed that a sum of money should be advanced to Ireland with which to purchase for the tenants the estates of the Irish landlords at a valuation based upon the judicial rents fixed in accordance with the Land Act of 1881.

The Land Purchase Act.

These proposals caused a division in the Liberal party, and Lord Hartington, who had refused to join Mr. Gladstone's government, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. George Trevelyan, both of whom had resigned on the production of the bills, joined with Mr Goschen and Mr. Bright in resisting Mr. Gladstone's scheme. The result was that the Home Rule Bill was rejected by 341 votes to 311. Mr. Gladstone at once advised the queen to dissolve Parliament, and appealed to the country to support his proposals. The result of the elections was to give Mr. Gladstone 278 followers (including 85 Irish Home Rulers), and to the Unionists 391 (318 Conservatives and 73 Liberal Unionists). Upon this Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury again came into power, supported by the Conservatives and by the Liberal members of the Unionist party.

Rejection of the Home Rule Bill.

General election.

Lord Salisbury's ministry remained in power for six years, and passed a number of important measures. One of these, called the Irish Crimes Act and passed in 1887, made it easier to try prisoners, who were accused of certain kinds of crime connected with the land and with political agitation. Another removed some of the defects of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1881, and a third provided for the making of light railways,

Irish Legislation.

which were intended to open up the country and make the Irish farmers more prosperous.

In England by far the greatest achievement of the ministry was the passing of the Local Government Act of 1889. This created county councils, and so enabled the inhabitants of rural districts to manage their local affairs through their elected representatives, as the boroughs and cities had done since 1835. It also created a county council for all London that is not included in the old city boundaries, and so was the means of giving a corporate spirit to the capital, which has already made a great change in London life.

The County Councils Act.

Since Mr. Forster's Education Act was passed in 1870, great efforts had been made to secure the regular attendance of all children of school age; but the payment of the school-pence had proved in many cases to be a great difficulty in the way of compulsion and a fruitful source of irregularity. To remove this hindrance to education, an Act was passed in 1891, by which it was provided that, with a few exceptions, the fees of all children at Elementary Schools should be paid by the state.

Free Education.

In 1887, the British Government took the most important step of calling a conference in London of delegates from each of the chief self-governing colonies. For many years it was the general opinion of politicians that the colonies would in no short time declare themselves independent; but a newer and better instructed school of statesmen had come to the front, headed by Mr. Forster, and after his death by Lord Rosebery, who clearly saw the folly of such an assumption, and were determined to do all they could to keep the empire together. Under their influence public opinion underwent a rapid change, and the London Colonial Conference was the first-fruits of the new policy.

The Colonies.

For some time the attention of Europe had been attracted to Africa. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign little was known of the interior of that continent; but since then the exertions of such men as Livingstone, Burton, Stanley, and others, had done a great deal to explore the basins of the Nile, the Congo, and the Zambesi, while the discovery

Africa.

of gold had caused a great rush of emigrants to the Cape Colony and the Transvaal. Accordingly, British, Germans, and Belgians settled in large numbers, and almost the whole continent was brought under the influence of one or other of the European nations.

In spite of his defeat in 1886, Mr. Gladstone had never ceased to press his Home Rule policy upon the nation, and had combined it with proposals for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, the establishment of parish councils, and other schemes, by which he hoped to make it more attractive. These were known as the Newcastle programme, and were so successful that at the general election of 1892 he secured a slight majority for his views, viz. 274 British and 81 Irish Home Rulers, against 269 Conservatives and 46 Liberal Unionists.

General Election.

Accordingly, he again assumed the government, and devised a second Home Rule Bill, which he brought before Parliament in 1893. In the Bill of 1886, Mr. Gladstone had proposed to exclude the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament; in the new bill he proposed that they should sit in it, but should not be allowed to vote on exclusively British affairs. Finding, however, that this plan was unacceptable to his followers, he altered it, and finally proposed to allow the voters not only to sit in the Imperial Parliament, but also to vote on all matters which came before it, even if they were exclusively British. In this form his bill passed the House of Commons by a small majority, but was immediately thrown out by the Lords.

The Second Home Rule Bill.

Instead of appealing for the support of the country against the Lords, Mr. Gladstone dropped his Irish legislation and brought forward some English measures. The chief of these was the Parish Councils Act, by which the management of local affairs in each parish was put into the hands of a parish meeting, similar to an old English *town moot*, or in the case of the larger parishes into those of a parish council.

The Parish Councils Act.

In 1894, after passing the Parish Councils Act, Mr. Gladstone, who saw no chance of carrying Home Rule, and was then in his eighty-fifth year, resigned, and his place was taken by Lord Rosebery, with practically the same cabinet as before. Under Lord Rosebery nothing of striking importance

Lord Rosebery.

was accomplished. The greater part of the session of 1895 was given up to discussing a bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Welsh Church, and there was some talk of passing a resolution to condemn the power of the Lords to reject bills passed by the House of Commons. Meanwhile, the government majority, never large, was rapidly dwindling through defeats at bye-elections, and in the summer of 1895 they were defeated on a vote about the army.

Lord Salisbury.

On this Lord Rosebery resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury at the head of a government of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. Lord Salisbury himself was Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Arthur Balfour, who had formerly distinguished himself as Irish Secretary, became First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons. The Duke of Devonshire (formerly Lord Hartington) became President of the Council, and Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary.

The General Election of 1895.

The new ministers at once appealed to the country, and in the general election which followed, received the immense majority of 152, made up of 340 Conservatives and 71 Liberal Unionists, against 177 British and 82 Irish Home Rulers.

Conclusion.

Here we must close this little survey of the history of the British nation. We have seen the struggle for liberty carried on between the king and the feudal nobles, we have seen it continued by the sturdy country gentlemen of the seventeenth century, and carried in 1688 to a successful conclusion in the establishment of the British constitution. Since that date we have seen the gradual progress of the country, though retarded by the French Revolution, carried a step further by the admission in 1832 of the middle classes to the vote; and still later, by the changes of 1867 and 1885, we have seen every householder, both in town and country, entrusted with a share in the government of his country. During the same period it has been our lot to relate the expansion of Britain from a little island on the coast of Europe into the centre of a world-wide empire, many of whose self-governing colonies are far larger than the whole empire was at a time when

many thought that it had reached the highest pinnacle of glory, and whose largest dependency, India, is as large in area and population as the greater part of Europe itself. No other country in the world can look back upon such a long career of advancement in liberty, and at the same time of almost unbroken success as a conquering and colonizing people. Let us hope that the British of the future may not be unworthy of their ancestors—a hope which every boy and girl in the country may do something to make good; and let it be truly said of us, as was untruly said of some of the Roman emperors, that we have successfully united two things—Empire and Liberty.

CHIEF GENERAL EVENTS SINCE 1837.

Penny Post introduced	1839
Corn laws abolished	1846
Navigation laws abolished	1849
Great Exhibition	1851
Russian War	1854-1856
Indian Mutiny	1857
Second Reform Bill	1867
Irish Church disestablished	1869
Education Act passed	1870
University Tests abolished	1871
Title of Empress of India assumed by the Queen ...	1876
Third Reform Bill	1885
Mr. Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill rejected	1886
County Councils Act passed	1889
Mr. Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill rejected ...	1893
Parish Councils Bill passed	1894

CHIEF WARS, BATTLES, SIEGES, AND TREATIES SINCE 1837.

First Afghan War	**1838-1842**
First China War	**1839-1841**
Scinde War. Battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad ...	**1843**
First Sikh War	**1845-1846**
Battles of Aliwal and Sobraon	**1846**
Second Sikh War	**1849**
Battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat	**——**
Russian War	**1854-1856**
Battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman	**1854**
Treaty of Paris	**1856**
Second China War	**1856-1860**
Treaty of Berlin	**1878**
Second Afghan War	**1878-1880**
Zulu War	**1879**
Egyptian War	**1882**
Soudan War	**1884-1885**
Siege of Khartoum	**1884-1885**

APPENDIX.

THE DE LA POLES.

William de la Pole, of Kingston-upon-Hull.

Michael de la Pole,
Earl of Suffolk,
Minister of Richard II., d. 1388.

Michael,
restored to his Earldom in 1399,
d. at Harfleur, 1415.

Michael, 3rd Earl,
killed at Agincourt, 1415.

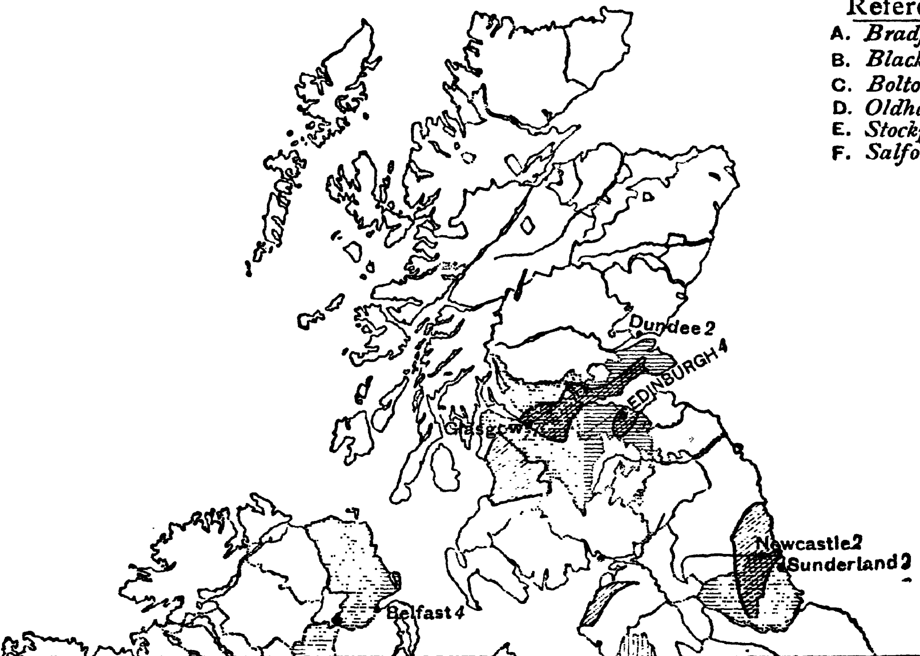
William,
Duke of Suffolk,
Minister of Henry VI.,
impeached and murdered 1450.

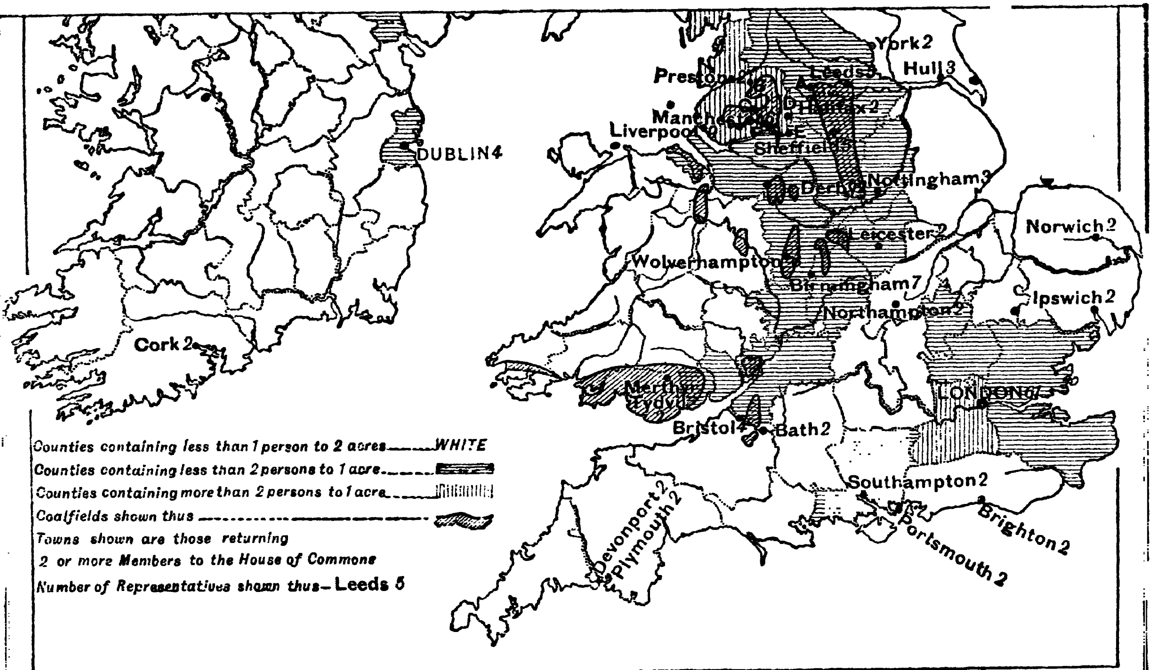
John de la Pole, = Elizabeth, sister of
Duke of Suffolk, Edward IV.
d. 1491.

John,
Earl of Lincoln,
killed at Stoke, 1487.

Edmund,
Duke of Suffolk,
surrendered title of Duke
for that of Earl, 1493,
executed 1513.

Richard,
killed at Pavia,
1525.


Reference
A. *Bradford* 8
B. *Blackburn* 2
C. *Bolton* 2
D. *Oldham* 2
E. *Stockport* 2
F. *Salford* 3
Dundee 2
EDINBURGH 4
Glasgow
Newcastle 2
Sunderland 2
Belfast 4


York 2
Hull 3
Preston
Leeds 5
Halifax 2
Manchester
Liverpool
Sheffield
DUBLIN 4
Derby
Nottingham 3
Norwich 2
Leicester 2
Wolverhampton
Birmingham 7
Ipswich 2
Northampton 2
Cork 2
Merthyr Tydvil
LONDON
Bristol 4
Bath 2
Southampton 2
Devonport 2
Plymouth 2
Portsmouth 2
Brighton 2
Counties containing less than 1 person to 2 acres — WHITE
Counties containing less than 2 persons to 1 acre
Counties containing more than 2 persons to 1 acre
Coalfields shown thus
Towns shown are those returning
2 or more Members to the House of Commons
Number of Representatives shown thus — Leeds 5
Walker & Boutall.

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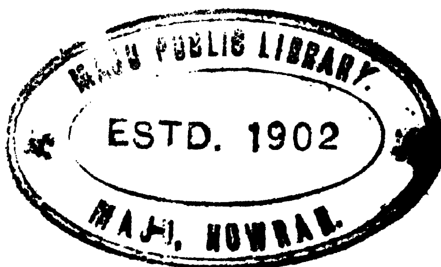
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BOOK VII

THE STUARTS AND THE COMMONWEALTH